COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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COUNTERVAILING DUTIES.

In the Register, page 298, we gave an account of the *Discriminating Duties*, imposed in the United States of America. We shall now give an account of the countervailing duties, laid on in Great-Britain.

We have received a report, which has lately been made, on this subject, to the American Congress, and which is so much better than any thing that we ourselves could have drawn up, that we gladly avail ourselves of it. It is entitled: "A Table, shewing the comparative Duties paid in the Ports of Great-Britain, on Goods imported into Great-Britain, in American, Foreign, and British Bottoms, since the 5th of February, 1798, so far as the same respect the Commerce of the United States."

Before we insert this table, we think it necessary to make some remarks on an assertion, which has lately been made in the American Congress, that "*Great-Britain has carried her countervailing duties beyond the legal limits of the treaty of* 1794." Justice to our country and duty to our sovereign calls upon us to repel this charge, which, if well-founded, amounts to nothing short of a breach of treaty.

By the 2d Sect. of the 15th Art. of the treaty of 1794, "the British government reserves to itself the right of imposing upon American vessels entering into the British ports in Europe, a tonnage duty *equal to that* which shall be payable by the British vessels in the ports of America: and also such duty as may be *adequate to countervail the difference of the duty* now payable on the importation of European and Asiatic goods, when imported into the United States, in British or in American vessels." At the time of entering into this stipulation America had laid, first, 10 per cent. on all goods brought to the United States from foreign countries, secondly, 20 per cent. on certain goods from China or India. This 10 and 20 per cent. were called *discriminating* duties, and were paid by the commerce carried on in British and other foreign vessels in *addition* to what it paid in common with that carried on in the vessels of America. Again: British vessels paid 50 cents per ton, while American vessels paid but 6 cents. It appears, then, that a rigid adherence to the above-cited stipulations of the treaty rendered the sum *liable to be countervailed* 10 per cent. for goods in general, exclusive of an additional allowance for particular articles; and that 50 cents (2s. 3d. sterling) was the sum necessary to make the British tonnage duty *equal to that payable by British vessels in the ports of America*.—It now remains to be seen whether Great-Britain has "carried her "countervailing duties beyond these legal "limits."

By the 2d Sect. of the Act of Parliament of the 4th of July, 1797, importations into Great-Britain in American ships are to pay the same duties as are payable on those in British ships from any *foreign* country; and, in cases where different duties are imposed upon goods of the like denomination from different countries, then on payment of the *lowest* duties which are payable on the importation of such goods in British ships; subject, nevertheless, to the *countervailing duties*, imposed by the same act. By the 11th Sect. it is provided, that American goods (tobacco excepted), imported from America in American ships shall pay *ten per centum* on the amount of the duty as it then stood on the same goods imported in British vessels; and on tobacco, imported as aforesaid, an additional duty of *one shilling and sixpence for every hundred pounds weight*, which additional duty is not quite *one* per centum, instead of *ten* per centum, as, by the "legal limits" of the treaty, it might have been.—The same act (Sect. 17), after reciting the stipulation above quoted from the treaty of 1794, imposes on all American ships, arriving in the ports of Great-Britain, a tonnage duty of 2s. per ton, when, as we have just seen, the Parliament had an undoubted right to lay a duty of 2s. 3d. per ton. Nor would the Americans have had any just cause of complaint, if we had, in our calculation, paid no regard to the *six* cents, paid on their own vessels. When, therefore, we refrain from exercising our full right in this particular, and thereby favour the navigation of America, though it may be no proof of our wisdom, it is an act of courtesy, which, as an American writer candidly observes, "is "entitled to civility, at least, in return."

GOODS.	IMPORTED FROM EUROPE, IN BRITISH SHIPS.	IMPORTED FROM EUROPE, IN FOREIGN SHIPS.	IMPORTED FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN BRITISH SHIPS.	IMPORTED FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN AMERICAN SHIPS.
ASHES, viz.	£ s. d	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Pearl Ashes, the cwt.	0 2 $4\frac{7}{20}$	0 2 $4\frac{7}{20}$	– *free* –	0 0 $2\frac{14}{20}$
Pot Ashes, d°	0 2 $4\frac{7}{20}$	0 2 $4\frac{7}{20}$	– *free* –	0 0 $2\frac{14}{20}$
The duty on Pearl and Pot Ashes imported from the British Plantations in America, without certificate, is the same as from Europe.				
Balks, see in Wood.				
Battens, d°				
Beech Quarters, d°				
Clap Boards d°		*p. lb.*		
Cotton.....	– *free* –	0 0 1	– *free* –	– *free* –
Deals d° d°				
Fir Quarters, d°				
Fir Timber, d°				
Indigo.....	– *free* –	– *free* –	– *free* –	*free*
Iron, viz. in bars or unwrought				
--- of Muscovy or Russia, the ton	3 1 $9\frac{8}{20}$	3 15 $11\frac{18}{20}$	– *free* –	0 5 $7\frac{8}{20}$
--- of any other port of Europe d°	3 1 $9\frac{8}{20}$	3 13 $10\frac{12}{20}$	– *free*	0 5 $7\frac{8}{20}$
The Duty on Bar Iron imported from the British Plantations in America, without certificate, is the same as from Europe in a British ship.				
Pig Iron, for every £100 of the value.....	28 17 6	28 17 6	– *free* –	*the ton.* 0 0 $6\frac{18}{20}$
The duty on Pig Iron imported from the British Plantations in America, without certificate, is 5s. 9 6-20d. the ton.				
Mahogany, see in Wood.				
Masts, 6 inches in diameter, and under 8 inches, the Mast	0 1 $2\frac{9}{20}$	0 1 $2\frac{14}{20}$	0 1 $2\frac{1}{20}$	0 1 $3\frac{10}{20}$
--- 8 inches in diameter, and under 12 inches, the Mast	0 3 6	0 3 $8\frac{3}{20}$	0 3 6	0 3 10
--- 12 inch in diam. or upwar. the load qt. 50 cubic feet	0 10 6	0 11 $0\frac{6}{20}$	0 10 6	0 11 6
Yards and Bowsprits pay duty as Masts or Spars, according to their dimensions.				
Oak Plank and Timber, see Wood.				
Oil, viz. Train Oil or Blubber, or Fish Oil, the ton qt. 252 gallons	19 1 $1\frac{16}{20}$	19 1 $1\frac{16}{20}$	19 1 $1\frac{16}{20}$	90 17 $5\frac{4}{20}$
Pipe Boards, see in Wood.				
Pitch, the Last qt. 12 barrels, each barrel qt. 31½ gallons.....	0 13 $0\frac{9}{20}$	0 13 $8\frac{7}{20}$	0 11 $6\frac{12}{20}$	0 12 $7\frac{16}{20}$
Rice, the cwt.....	0 7 $8\frac{8}{20}$	0 7 $8\frac{8}{20}$	0 7 $8\frac{8}{20}$	0 8 $5\frac{4}{20}$
No part of the duties on Rice warehoused under the King's lock, in certain enumerated ports, is payable, unless the Rice is taken out of such warehouse, to be used in the country,				
Rosin, the cwt.....	0 2 $4\frac{7}{20}$	0 2 $5\frac{7}{20}$	0 1 $6\frac{18}{20}$	0 1 $8\frac{14}{20}$
Snuff, the lb.....	0 0 $10\frac{10}{20}$	0 0 $10\frac{10}{20}$	0 0 $10\frac{10}{20}$	0 0 $11\frac{16}{20}$
Subject also to a duty of excise of 1s. 11d. per lb.				
Spars, see Wood.				
Spermaceti, coarse and oily, the cwt.	0 18 $6\frac{13}{20}$	0 18 $6\frac{12}{20}$	0 18 $6\frac{12}{20}$	1 0 $3\frac{16}{20}$
----- fine, the lb.	0 0 $8\frac{8}{20}$	0 0 $8\frac{8}{20}$	0 0 $8\frac{8}{20}$	0 0 $9\frac{4}{20}$
Staves, not above 3 inches in thickness, and not exceeding 7 inches in breadth, viz. Not exceeding 36 inches in length.....	0 4 $4\frac{16}{20}$	0 4 $5\frac{18}{20}$	– *free* –	0 0 $4\frac{18}{20}$

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Above 36 and not exceeding 50 inches in length, the 120..	0	8	3	0	8	$4\frac{2}{20}$	–	*free*	–	0	0	9
Above 50 and not exceeding 60 inches in length, the 120	0	11	0	0	11	$1\frac{2}{20}$	–	*free*	–	0	1	0
Above 60 and not exceeding 72 inches in length, the 120	0	16	6	0	16	$7\frac{2}{20}$	–	*free*	–	0	1	6
Above 72 inches in length the 120.....	0	19	3	0	19	$4\frac{2}{20}$	–	*free*	–	0	1	9
Staves above 3 inches in thickness, or above 7 inches in breadth, and not exceeding 5 feet 3 inches in length, are deemed Clap Boards, and pay duty accordingly.												
Staves above 3 inches in thickness, or above 7 inches in breadth, and exceeding 5 feet 3 inches in length, are deemed Pipe Boards, and pay duty accordingly.												
For the duty on Clap Boards and Pipe Boards—see in Wood.												
Tar, the Last, qt. 12 barrels, each barrel $31\frac{1}{2}$ gallons.....	0	12	$11\frac{8}{20}$	0	13	$8\frac{17}{20}$	0	11	$6\frac{12}{20}$	0	12	$7\frac{18}{20}$
Tobacco, the pound.....	0	0	$6\frac{6}{20}$	0	0	$6\frac{6}{20}$	0	0	$6\frac{6}{20}$	0	0	$6\frac{6}{20}$
And besides if imported in an American ship, the 100 lb..	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	1	6
No part of the duty on Tobacco warehoused under the King's lock, or of the countervailing duty, is payable, unless the Tobacco is taken out of such warehouse to be used in this country.												
Tobacco is also subject to a duty of excise 1s. 1d. per lb.												
Turpentine, common, of the British plantations in America, the cwt.	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	2	$4\frac{7}{20}$	0	2	$7\frac{1}{10}$
Of Germany and other places, except Venice, the cwt.....	0	13	$4\frac{13}{20}$	0	13	$4\frac{13}{20}$	–	–	–			
Ufers, see in Wood.												
Whalefins, the ton qt. 20 cwt..	102	15	$10\frac{16}{20}$	102	15	$10\frac{16}{20}$	102	15	$10\frac{16}{20}$	112	11	$8\frac{8}{20}$
Wood, unmanufactured, viz.												
Balks, Beech Quarters, Fir Quarters, and Ufers, viz.												
Five inches square, and under 8 inches square, or if 24 feet in length, the 120.	4	3	$5\frac{14}{20}$	4	4	$11\frac{11}{20}$	–	*free*	–	0	7	$11\frac{8}{20}$
Under five inches square and under 24 feet in length, the 120.....	1	13	$6\frac{8}{20}$	1	14	$0\frac{9}{20}$	–	*free*	–	0	3	$2\frac{6}{20}$
Battens, not above 7 inches in width, viz.												
8 feet in length, not exceeding 20 feet in length, and not exceeding $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in thickness, the 120...	2	1	$8\frac{17}{20}$	2	2	$6\frac{14}{20}$	–	*free*	–	0	3	$11\frac{3}{20}$
Battens, exceeding 20 feet in length, or if exceeding $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in thickness, the 120....	4	3	$5\frac{14}{20}$	4	4	$11\frac{11}{20}$	–	*free*	–	0	7	$11\frac{8}{20}$
Batten ends, not above 7 inches in width, viz.												
Under 8 feet in length, and not exceeding $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in thickness, the 120....	0	13	$10\frac{19}{20}$	0	14	$2\frac{2}{20}$		*free*	–	0	1	$3\frac{18}{20}$
Under 8 feet in length, exceeding $2\frac{3}{4}$ inc. in thickness, the 120.....	1	7	$9\frac{18}{20}$	1	8	$4\frac{4}{20}$	–	*free*	–	0	2	$7\frac{16}{20}$
Beech Quarters, see Balks in wood.												
Clap Boards, not exceeding 5 feet												

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
3 inches in length, and under 8 inches square, the 120.....	1	1	0	1	1	$2\frac{2}{20}$	–	*free*	–	0	2	0
Deals, above 7 inches in width, viz												
Exceeding 20 feet in length, and not exceeding 4 inches in thickness, the 120.....	9	7	$5\frac{5}{20}$	9	11	$9\frac{12}{20}$	–	*free*	–	0	17	$10\frac{4}{20}$
Exceeding 20 feet in length, and exceeding 4 inches in thickness, the 120.....	18	14	$10\frac{4}{20}$	18	19	$2\frac{14}{20}$	–	*free*	–	1	15	$8\frac{11}{16}$
8 feet in length, and not above 10 feet in length, and not exceeding $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. in thickness, the 120.....	2	15	$7\frac{16}{20}$	2	17	$1\frac{13}{20}$	–	*free*	–	0	5	$3\frac{12}{16}$
8 feet in length, and not above 20 feet in length, and not exceeding $3\frac{1}{4}$ inc. in thickness, the 120.....	4	3	$5\frac{14}{20}$	4	4	$11\frac{11}{20}$	–	*free*	–	0	7	$11\frac{5}{16}$
8 feet in length, and not above 20 feet in length, and exceeding $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in thickness, the 120.....	8	6	$11\frac{8}{20}$	8	8	$5\frac{5}{20}$	–	*free*	–	0	15	$10\frac{10}{16}$
Fir Quarters, see Balks in Wood.												
Fir Timber, of the growth of Norway, and imported directly from thence, being 8 inches square or upwards, and not exceeding 10 inches square, the load qt. 50 cubic feet.....	0	7	0	0	7	$2\frac{2}{20}$	–	*free*	–	0	0	8
Fir Timber, and Timber of all other sorts (except Oak Timber) being 8 inc. square, or upwards, the load qt. 50 cubic feet.....	0	10	6	0	10	$8\frac{2}{20}$	–	*free*	–	0	1	0
Mahogany, the ton qt. 20 cwt....	5	9	$2\frac{8}{20}$	5	9	$2\frac{8}{20}$	3	3	0	3	9	0
Oak Plank, 2 inches thick, or upwards, the load qt. 50 cubic feet	1	0	$9\frac{18}{20}$	1	1	$8\frac{8}{20}$	–	*free*	–	0	1	$11\frac{16}{20}$
Oak Timber, 8 inch. square, or upwards, the load qt. 50 cubic feet	0	10	$4\frac{19}{20}$	0	10	$10\frac{4}{20}$	–	*free*	–	0	0	$11\frac{13}{20}$
Pipe Boards, under 8 inches square, viz. above 5 feet 3 inc. and not exceeding 8 f. in length, the 120	1	11	6	1	11	$9\frac{3}{20}$	–	*free*	–	0	3	0
Exceeding 8 feet in length, the 120	3	3	0	3	3	$3\frac{5}{20}$	–	*free*	–	0	6	0
Spars, under 22 feet in length, and under 4 inches in diameter, exclusive of the bark, the 120....	0	7	0	0	7	$3\frac{3}{20}$	–	*free*	–	0	0	8
22 feet in length, or upwards, and under 4 inches in diameter, exclusive of the bark the 120.....	0	11	$6\frac{12}{20}$	0	12	$0\frac{18}{20}$	–	*free*	–	0	1	$1\frac{4}{20}$
4 inches in diameter, and under 6 inches, exclusive of the bark, the 120.....	1	5	$5\frac{11}{20}$	1	6	$6\frac{3}{20}$	–	*free*	–	0	2	$5\frac{1}{16}$
6 inches or upwards, see Masts												
Ufers, see Balks in Wood.												
Any other manufactured Wood of the growth of the United States of America, imported directly from thence in British ships, is duty free; but subject, if imported in American ships, to a duty of 10 per cent. on the produce and amount of the lowest duties payable on the importation of the like Wood, from any part of Europe in British ships.												

All other goods, wares, and merchandize, of the manufacture of the United States of America (the importation of which is not prohibited by law) may be imported directly from thence, either in British or American Ships, on payment of the lowest duty to which the like goods are subject when imported in British ships, from any port of Europe in amity with his Britannic Majesty, subject nevertheless to a further duty, when imported in American ships, of 10 per cent on the produce and amount of these duties.

The present table has been formed according to the state of British imports existing on the 4th of July, 1797, the date of the British act entitled, "An Act for carrying into Execution the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, concluded between his Majesty and the United States of America."

On the 19th July, 1797, the British Parliament passed an act laying an additional duty of five per cent. on the duties before payable upon imports, exports, and the coasting trade, but with sundry exceptions, among which are tobacco, teas, sugars, wines, ordinary oil of olives, calicoes, &c. &c. and such articles as are imported into Great-Britain free of duty, according to the rules by which the discriminations were imposed; among which are the articles of pot and pearl ashes, pig iron, staves, timber in logs, oak and pine plank, and oak boards.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

*Treaty of Peace between France and Portugal, concluded at Utrecht the 11th April, 1713.**

Art. I. There shall be for the future, a perpetual peace, true friendship, and firm and good correspondence between the two powers, &c. &c.

Art. II. Past hostilities to be mutually forgotten.

Art. III. Prisoners on both sides to be restored.

Art. IV. Any forts or places taken after the signing of the treaty to be restored.

Art. V. Commerce shall be carried on in Europe in the same manner as before the war.

Art. VI. Equal privileges and exemptions to be enjoyed by the subjects of each nation.

Art. VII. Regulates the number of men of war which shall at one time enter the ports of either of the powers.

Art. VIII. In order to prevent every occasion for discord, which might arise between the subjects of the Crown of Portugal, his most Christian Majesty will resign for ever, as he renounces at the present time, by this treaty, in the strongest and most authentic terms, and with all the requisite clauses, as if they were here inserted, as well in his own name as in that of his heirs, successors and assigns, every right and pretention which he can or might lay claim to, on the property of the territories known by the name of Cape North, and situated between the river of the Amazons and that of Japoc, or Vincent Pinson, without reserving to himself, or retaining any portion of the said territories; in order that they may be henceforth possessed by his Portuguese Majesty, his heirs and successors, with all the rights of sovereignty, of absolute power and entire dominion, as forming a part of his estates: and also that they shall remain in his possession evermore, without any annoyance being given on the part of his said Most Christian Majesty, or on that of his heirs and successors to his said Portuguese Majesty, his heirs, successors and assigns, in the said possession.

Art. IX. In consequence of the preceding article, his Portuguese Majesty is at liberty to rebuild the forts of Arguais and Camau, or Massapa, as well as all the others which have been demolished in virtue of the provisional treaty concluded at Lisbon, on the 4th of March, 1700, between his Most Christian Majesty, and his Portuguese Majesty Peter II. of glorious memory; the aforesaid provisional treaty remaining null and of no effect, in virtue of the latter; and his Portuguese Majesty shall likewise be at liberty to build in the territories mentioned in the preceding article, as many new forts as he may think proper, and to provide them with every thing that may be necessary for the defence of the said territories.

Art. X. His Most Christian Majesty acknowledges, by the present treaty, that the two banks of the river of the Amazons, as well the southern as the northern, belong in full possession, dominion and sovereignty, to his Portuguese Majesty; and promises, as well for himself as for his heirs and successors, never to form any pretension to the navigation and use of the said river, under any pretext whatever.

Art. XI. In the same manner as his Most Christian Majesty renounces in his own name, and in that of his heirs, successors and assigns, every claim to the navigation and use of the river of the Amazons, so he desists from every right which he might have over any other domain of his Portuguese Majesty, as well in America as in any other part of the world.

Art. XII. And as it is to be apprehended that fresh dissentions may arise between the subjects of the Crown of France and those of the Crown of Portugal, relative to the trade which the inhabitants of Cayenne may attempt to carry on in Maragnan and at the mouth of the river of the Amazons, His Most Christian Majesty promises as well for himself as for all his heirs and successors, not to permit the said inhabitants of Cayenne, nor any other subjects of his said Majesty, to trade in the places abovementioned; and that they shall be absolutely forbidden to cross the river of Vincent Pinson, for the purpose of trading and buying slaves in the territories of Cape du Nord. And his Portuguese Majesty likewise promises, as well for himself as for his heirs and successors, that none of his subjects shall go to Cayenne, for the purposes of commerce.

Art. XIII. His Most Christian Majesty also promises in his own name, and in that of his heirs and successors, not to suffer any French Missionaries, of

* This treaty is here inserted, because, in discussing that part of the Definitive Treaty, now concluded between France and England, which relates to Guiana, it will be necessary to refer to it. The articles of this treaty, which have relation to the territories of France and Portugal, we have inserted at length: of the others the substance only is given.

others under his protection to remain in the said territories, which belong incontestibly, by virtue of this Treaty, to the Crown of Portugal; the spiritual direction of the people remaining entirely among the Portuguese Missionaries, or those who may be sent thither from Portugal.

Art. XIV. The Treaty to have immediate effect.

Art. XV. Six months allowed to the subjects of either power, to remove their effects, in case of a war.

Art. XVI. The Queen of England's guarantee accepted.

Art. XVII. Other powers allowed to enter into the guarantee.

Art. XVIII. Promises the inviolable observance of the Treaty, by both parties.

Art. XIX. Ratifications to be exchanged in fifty days, or sooner if possible.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,

His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

My Lord,

In resuming the discussion of the treaty of Amiens, I shall return to the order, which I at first proposed to follow, and which was departed from in my last letter, because I had not then finished some maps, which appeared to me necessary to a full and clear elucidation of those parts of the subject, on which I am now about to offer your lordship some remarks.

4. *Portuguese Guiana.* The stipulations respecting this important territory exhibit, in full front and in staring colours, the imbecility, the cowardice, and the bad faith, of the British cabinet. The preliminary articles were introduced to the public, with an unequivocal boast of their having secured the integrality of our allies, as it existed *previous to the war*. This last part of the assertion was, indeed, soon given up; for, though the preliminary treaty particularized nothing on this head, though it was totally silent as to the description of boundaries as well as to the time of their having been fixed, the explanations, given by your lordship forbade us to hope, that the integrality of Portugal would be carried further back than the treaty of Badajos, by which our ally was stripped of a part of her European dominions. I *know*, that his Majesty's ministers authorized persons to state, that the preliminary arricles had provided for the integrality of our allies as that integrality stood *before the war*, and I am particularly desirous to have this clearly understood, as it proves, either that they deliberately intended to impose upon the public, or were most egregiously imposed upon themselves.

But, it is Portuguese Guiana, towards which I am now endeavouring to direct your lordship's attention. This territory is of great importance, not for its intrinsic value, but for the protection, which, as an intervening space, it has always been regarded as affording to the colonies of Portugal, lying to the south of the River Amazons. Previous to the war of Queen Anne, there had been much altercation between France and Portugal, relative to the boundary line of their respective dominions in Guiana. In the French and Portuguese treaty of Utrecht, which was guaranteed by England (vide Register, p. 425), great care was taken to fix the boundary in such a manner as should effectually prevent the French from approaching the Amazons, and from using, or having any controul over, the navigation of that river. This boundary was then fixed at the river *Japoc*,* or *Vincent Pinson*. As, however, there was a choice of names given to the river, which was to serve as a boundary line, the French did as, I am afraid, we should have done, they found two rivers, to one of which (called, by the Portuguese, the River *Calmeme*) they gave the superfluous name of Vincent Pinson, and then they insisted, that this river, which was situated about 150 miles nearer to the Amazons than the other, was the true boundary line, understood by the treaty of Utrecht. This pretension, though certainly unjust, was little injurious to Portugal; because, as your lordship will perceive by the map, the French were still kept to the north of Cape North, and obtained by their encroachment, no sort of controul over the navigation or the entrance of the Amazons, from which it had ever been the great object of Portugal to exclude them, as clearly appears from all the stipulations of the above-mentioned treaty. (Vide Art. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13.)

In this situation things remained 'till 1787, when the directory extorted from M. d'Aranjo, a treaty which recognized the boundary contended for by France; but, as this treaty was not ratified by Portugal, and as the French formally annulled it afterwards, it cannot be considered as having any weight in the discussion of the present arrangement, any further than to show, that the pretension of the insolent directory did not extend beyond the *Calmeme*, and that Portugal had not, to that hour, ever recognized the right of France to the possession of the territory even as far as that river.† [See Art. 7, 8, and 9, in pag. 431.]

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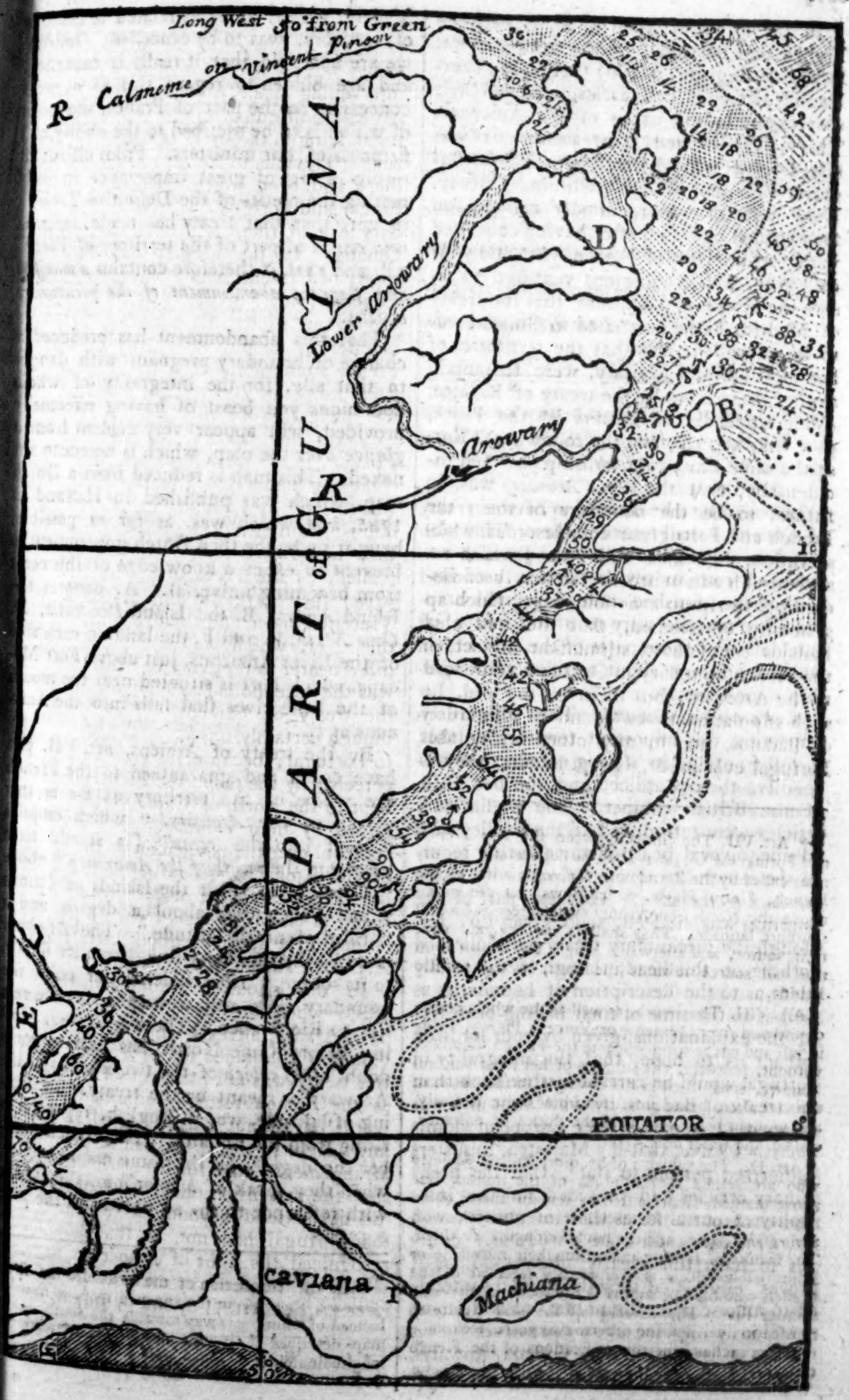
* In the Spanish maps, this river is called the *Oyapoco*, and in Guthrie, the *Oyapock*.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In the treaty of Madrid, made between France and Portugal, on the 29th of Sept. last (vide Register, p. 160) the French, overleaping all former boundaries, stretched their sovereignty to the banks of the Amazons. This treaty excited great alarm. It was stated to be, what it really was, a most flagrant violation of our preliminary treaty. Your lordship was repeatedly called upon for explanation; and, after having consulted with the minister of France, you and your colleague, Mr. Addington, ventured to assure the House of Commons, that the treaty of Madrid, as far as related to Guiana, was to be cancelled, and that the territories of her most Faithful Majesty, were to remain as they were fixed by the treaty of Badajos. (Vide Appendix to Letters on the Peace, p. xxxix, xli, xlii, and the following). But, at the same time, your lordship observed incidentally, that the River *Arowary* was, in future, to be the boundary between the French and Portuguese colonies. This observation, combined with the promise respecting an adherence to the treaty of Badajos, gave rise to a notion, which has been generally entertained, that the treaty of Badajos contained a stipulation, by which the French boundary in Guiana was brought to the Arowary; but there is, my lord, no such stipulation to be found in the treaty of Badajos, nor in any other treaty that Portugal ever made, except in the treaty of Madrid, which, as far as related to cessions of territory, was to be cancelled. Indeed, we are now told that it really is cancelled, and are bidden to regard this as a great concession on the part of France, the merit of which is to be ascribed to the ability and firmness of our ministers. From all which results a fact of great importance in estimating the merits of the Definitive Treaty; to wit, that that treaty has made *an entire new cession* of part of the territory of Portugal, and that, it therefore contains *a manifest and flagrant abandonment of the preliminary articles.*

That this abandonment has produced a change of boundary pregnant with danger to that ally, for the integrality of whose dominions you boast of having effectually provided, will appear very evident from a glance over the map, which is hereunto annexed. This map is reduced from a Dutch map, which was published in Holland in 1785, and which was, as far as possible, bought up by the then Dutch government to prevent so exact a knowledge of this coast from becoming universal. A. denotes the Island *Nuovo*, B. the Island *Penetentia*, D. *Cape North*, E. and F. the land on each side of the River Amazons, just above Fort Macapa, which Fort is situated near the mouth of the little river that falls into the Amazons at E.

By the treaty of Amiens, art. VII. you have ceded and guaranteed to the French the whole of the territory as far as that mouth of the *Arowary*, "which empties "itself into the *ocean*" [It should have been into the *mouth of the Amazons*] "above "Cape North, near the Islands of Nuovo "and Penetentia, about a degree and a "third of north latitude." The Arowary is to be the boundary line, from its mouth to its source,* from which latter point the boundary is to run westward, in a direct line to Rio Branco. The word *above*, coming before Cape North, has excited some doubt as to *which* of the two mouths of the Arowary is meant by the treaty. In talking of latitude, we, in English, regard it as rising from the Equator. The French number the degrees in the same manner; but, when they speak of *high* or *low*, they speak with reference to the altitude from the *pole*,

† Art. VII. The limits between the two French and Portuguese Guyanas shall be determined by the river called by the Portuguese *Calmeme*, and, by the French, *Vincent Pinson*, which flows into the ocean above the North Cape, about two degrees and a half southern latitude. They shall follow the said river to its source, and afterwards a right line drawn from the said source towards the west, as far as Rio Blanco.

Art. VIII. The mouth, as well as the whole course of the said river Calmeme or Vincent Pinson, being in full and entire sovereignty to the French Republic, without, however, the subjects of her most Faithful Majesty, established in the environs to the south of the said river, being prevented from using it freely, and without being subject to the duties of entrance, course, and water duty.

Art. IX. The subjects of her most Faithful Majesty who are settled to the north of the frontier line above marked, shall be free to remain there, obeying the laws of the Republic, or to withdraw with their effects, or to sell the lands belonging to them. The faculty of retiring and selling their moveable or immoveable effects is reciprocally reserved to the French who may be settled to the south of the said frontier line. The exercise of the said faculty is limited to one, and the other to two years, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications of the French treaty.

* In the description of the course of the *River Arowary*, there is, in the annexed map, a mistake. Instead of running away towards the south, as the map describes it, it runs nearly parallel with the longitudinal line.

and not from the Equator. Any dispute, however, that might have arisen from this difference of idiom, is completely obviated by the subsequent part of the sentence; to wit, "*near the Islands Nuovo and Penetentia,* "about *a degree and a third* of north lati- "tude." This clear and positive definition removes all ambiguity.

Your lordship will perceive, then, that the mouth of the Arowary, which empties itself near the Islands of Nuovo and Penetentia, and which lies in about a degree and a third of north latitude, is at least sixty miles nearer the Amazons than the mouth of the Calmeme or Vincent Pinson, which latter is the nearest point that the French ever before attempted to reach. That the intermediate space is not a mere desert, as it has been represented, appears very clearly from the stipulations of the treaty made by the Directory and M. d'Aranjo; for, by reference to that part of the said treaty, which I have already quoted, you will find, that there are Portuguese settlements, not only in that part of the country called Cape North, and quite up to the banks of the Vincent Pinson, but even to the *north* of that river. In fact, Portugal always set great value on the possession of this part of Guiana, regarding it as the great and, indeed, the last barrier, between her most valuable colonies and the Guiana of the French.

But, it is not the loss of land, of trade, or of subjects, that our ally will have most to regret from the cession which has been made in the treaty of Amiens; nor is it the defence, which she found merely in the distance, at which former treaties kept the French from the banks of the Amazons; it is the loss, the total loss, of that security, which she derived from the French having *no position capable of controuling the navigation* of the Amazons, and of facilitating their entrance into that river. That this security has been completely given up by the treaty of Amiens needs but few words in explanation of the map. The mouth of the Amazons is full of islands, rocks, and shoals. Through the middle of these islands there is no passage for any thing longer than a mere boat. On the southern side of the mouth, between the main land and the Island of Cairana the current is too rapid to admit of entrance, except at particular times, which are purely accidental, and which very rarely occur. The only passage, then, the only safe and frequented passage to this important river, is, as your lordship will see by the track, the soundings, and the anchorage, between the Islands of Nuovo and Penetentia, and close before the mouth of the river *Arowary*, that very river to which you and your enlightened colleague have brought the boundary and the dominion of France! From the moment that France takes possession of the territory now ceded to her, she will be as much the mistress of the Amazons as she is of the Scheldt. She may, if she pleases, lay a toll on all vessels entering that river; and, at any hour that she finds it convenient she may invade the dominions of Portugal in their most valuable and most vulnerable part.

And will you, my lord, can you have the confidence, after this exposition, to repeat your assertion of having preserved the *integrality* of Portugal? Can your intelligent coadjutor maintain, that he has fulfilled his promise to adhere to the basis of the preliminary articles? Those articles were disgraceful enough; but, at any rate, they stipulated for the integrality of Portugal, and, by subsequent explanation, they promised us the annulling of the treaty of Madrid, as far as related to cessions of territory; but the Definitive Treaty, instead of adhering to this basis, has completely abandoned it, and has confirmed every advantage, which France set a value on, and which she had obtained in the treaty of Madrid. The tract of country lying between the mouth of the Arowary and Fort Macapa would be of no use to France, seeing that the possession of the former gives her the absolute command of the Amazons. Whenever she may choose to direct her predatory hordes towards the colonies of Portugal, it is by *water* they will approach; and, as you have given her this water in the fee simple, she wants not the land, of which you and your wise colleague have so adroitly obtained her renunciation. The fact is, my lord (and it is a fact which ought to be stuck up in every church porch in the kingdom,) when you were closely pressed on the subject of the treaty of Madrid, you had recourse to the minister of France, who, after having received instructions from his masters, enabled you to tell the parliament, that the treaty of Madrid, as far as related to cessions of territory, would be cancelled, and that the boundary line between France and Portugal, in Guiana, would be fixed at the Arowary. This you both thought would put an end to all further inquiry: France gained all the benefits of the treaty of Madrid, and the British Parliament and nation were silenced. I do not say, that your lord-

ship were aware of what you were doing; I do not say that you were guilty of intentional imposition, for I sincerely believe you to be as ignorant of the coast of Guiana as you are of the lands and the seas in the moon; and I am further persuaded, that the final effect of the compromise, however fatal to Portugal or to England, was, with you, a matter of perfect indifference, so that you thereby obtained a suspension of that censure and disgrace, which must, sooner or later, inevitably fall upon the heads of those, under whose auspices this dangerous and dishonourable treaty has been made.

I am,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most humble
and most obedient Servant,
Wm. Cobbett.

Pall Mall, April 17, 1802.

Paris, March 25.

MINISTRY OF THE MARINE.

Admiral Villaret Joyeuse, to the Minister of the Marine and the Colonies at Paris.

"Harbour of Cape François, on board the Océan, Feb. 16, 1802.

"Citizen Minister,

"I return to the account of the operations of the fleet, of which I began to speak in my dispatch of the 21st Pluviôse; amidst the accumulated events which have followed, it were impossible to write a detailed and minute relation of all that has passed since that period; but I include in my recitals, without the omission of one essential circumstance, the whole of our operations; and I trust the First Consul will discover the same activity and zeal to second the designs of the army, and the same desire to share their labours, their glory, and their dangers.

"You already know, Citizen Minister, what have been the services of the two divisions of the fleet employed at the Cape and at Fort Liberty; (Fort Dauphin) a third under the command of Rear-Admiral Latouche was destined to assist in the attack of Fort Républicain. This Admiral presented himself the 14th February: he was preceded by the frigate La Guerrière, to sound the dispositions of the Commandant, to whom the Aide-de-Camp of General Boudet (Citizen Sabes) presented conciliatory letters, and the proclamation of the Consuls. Instead of an answer, the blacks arrested this officer, as also the first lieutenant of La Guerrière, and all the equipage of the boat. They imprisoned the white General Age and another of the officers; put all the whites under arrest, and sent on board the frigate an officer of their own, the bearer of a letter for General Boudet, in which Age advised to suspend the attack, and the debarkment of the troops, until the arrival of the black General Dessalines. Him they expected late at night, and the bearer of the letter unequivocally asserted, that the entrance of the fleet into the harbour, was to be the signal for setting the town on fire and the massacre of all the whites.

"You observe, Citizen Minister, that through the whole of the affair, their conduct has been insolent, and their language audacious. This news came to General Boudet and Rear-Admiral Latouche, in the afternoon of the 15th February. The wind was contrary, and also too violent for us to approach the harbour. The two chiefs were alarmed lest the night should produce some disorder or misfortune. The fleet then began to anchor at Lamentin, before Fort Bizoton; where they discovered a number of people, and the black armies.

"During this unavoidable delay, a second letter was dispatched to the Commander of Fort Républicain, assuring him of the good intentions of the government, so clearly explained in the First Consul's Proclamation, and in order to reclaim the officers who were detained: To this, no reply was returned.

"The 15th, in the morning, all hope of their submission was overthrown; the debarkment was executed in a manner the most skilful and orderly. Rear-Admiral Latouche had constructed, during the night, armed rafts for the artillery. Two vessels were stationed under Fort Bizoton, and two frigates were placed so as to protect the debarkment. The Fort was evacuated without resistance, and 150 black grenadiers joined themselves to our troops. General Boudet immediately marched up the town, and the fleet quitting, with equal celerity, the anchorage off Lamentin, entered the harbour, and came within half a musquet shot of the barrier. The general still offered pardon and the favour of the government to the rebels. They answered him by a continual fire of cannon, howitzers, and musketry. The chiefs of his staff and two of his aides-de-camp were wounded by his side, as also a considerable number of our brave soldiers. The Argonaut then began to fire upon the enemy; but the grenadiers of the 68th rushing upon their intrenchments, put them to the bayonet, and penetrated into the town, where the engagement continued some time with inveterate obstinacy. The Fort St. Joseph was carried in the same manner as the intrenchments. At seven o'clock General Boudet was entire master of the town and all the forts, except Fort National, which the blacks evacuated on the morning of the 17th, without striking a single blow.—Our loss is 10 killed and 80 wounded.

"Whilst these events occurred at Port Républicain, (Port-au-Prince) the Captain-General sent General Humbert with 200 men to Port-au-Paix: the vessel La Watigny, Captain Gourdon; the frigates La Clorinde and La Furieuse carried the troops, and seconded their operations. Here, as every where, peace was offered to the rebels before the employment of force. The messenger who took (the 20th February) the Proclamation of the government to the black General Maurepas, with the request that they would receive the French amicably, was repulsed by the firing of cannon; it was absolutely necessary to have recourse to war. It was five in the afternoon; a heavy gale of wind made it necessary to debark as speedily as possible; the Commandant, Gourdon, was compelled to tack all the night in the narrow canal of La Tortue, embarrassed in his manœuvres by the number of troops he had with him, deceived by the ignorance of pilots, and under the necessity of sacrificing a cable and an anchor, by which his vessel was left at the mercy of the tempest, and the mission failed of its effect.

"The 21st, at break of day, the debarkment was effected, notwithstanding the fire from the forts and the black troops. The frigate La Clorinde, which was along-side the shore, for the purpose of assisting the army, received some shot on board, and La Watigny being sent to the sides of the harbour to silence

the Grand Fort, which the blacks abandoned in disorder, without having time to destroy any thing—some fine barracks, much powder, and some other ammunition were found; but no sooner had the 2d corps of troops touched the shore, than the blacks leapt over the two other forts, and set fire to the town. A detachment of an hundred armed sailors, and the officers of the fleet, distinguished themselves in a manner worthy of the highest praise. Lieutenant Mesoe, of the Artillery, Ensign Bordenbach, and the brave Gelin, were killed: the Ship-Lieutenant Livenard, and Lieutenant Kosamel, of the Artillery, were severely wounded. Two noble fellows, Pecot Lapeyrouse and Legolias, shewed singular bravery in fighting at the head of the detachment; the latter received a ball, which went through his wrist. I have recommended to the general officers, and all the commanders, to employ on all occasions the young men, who are the hope of our fleet; every where they signalized themselves by a glorious bravery, and a devotedness without example.

"The division of Rear-Admiral Gantheaume having arrived at the Cape the 22d February, I sent the next day the vessel Le Jean Bart, with 400 men, for the Port-au-Paix. Two days before, I had dispatched La Mignone to Rear-Admiral Magon. This officer continues to render essential service by his information and activity. The captain-general intrusted to him the command of the army, which he united with that of the division stationed at Fort Liberté (Fort Dauphin). Notwithstanding the weakness of his means, he defended a large extent of country, where order and tranquillity were preserved, where the cultivators themselves pursued the incendiaries, and contrived to furnish the army with some advantageous resources; but he did not here confine his services; by his care the Mulatto General Clervaux, who commanded at St. Yago, in the department of Cibao, was brought over from the side of the rebels. Mauville, the bishop, was the mediator of this happy negotiation. All the important points on the part of the French were at this period made subservient to the force of the Republic; the rebels possessed nothing in comparison, and the engagement did not commence till the 17th February. Eight days sufficed for the whole of the operations, which presented a mass of fortunate results, and guaranteed to France, in a very short period, the conquest and possession of her finest colony.

"Every day augmented our resources and diminished our dangers. We found two millions three hundred thousand livres in the coffers of Port-au-Prince; this, however, was of little importance, had we not discovered an instance of dissimulation and hypocrisy, which nothing could disconcert: Toussaint Louverture had the audacity to require that this sum should be returned. On all sides we hear complaints against this obstinate man: he is detested in the Spanish part. Seven hundred mulattoes, refugees from the Island of Cuba, have begged to join against him; these were men devoted to General Rigaud; the dispatch boat Le Tricolore, which had been forced to put into St. Yago de Cuba, brought the intelligence of their desire: I appointed, at the request of the General in Chief, the frigates La Créole and L'Indienne to bring them hither: this last frigate, which sets out from Cadiz four days after Rear-Admiral Linois' division, arrived here in twenty-four hours after him.

"The 20th, the General appeared in sight of the Cape, with three vessels and two frigates. Judge, Citizen Minister, of my extreme surprise and regret in seeing this division lay to, at two cables distance from the entrance of the harbour, by a breeze at N. E. which would not permit the pilots to approach. Admiral Linois discovered too late the danger of his position, and tacking against the wind, he made the signal for his division to imitate his manœuvre, but the vessels Le Dessaix, and Le St. Genare, could not execute the movement with sufficient promptitude, and touched on the breakers:—All the assistance which the fleet could possibly give, was afforded with the utmost activity. Le Saint Genare, after having lost her rudder, only made nine inches of water. (Yesterday it was said 25 inches.) By an immediate repair she will therefore be again serviceable to the Republic. The Dessaix was almost filled with water an hour after the accident, and the water increased every minute.

"I went to the spot with Citizen Molini, Chief of the Naval Staff, Adjutant Cordier, and Citizen Petit, who all, in directing the assistance, discovered equal knowledge and zeal. Captain Pallière, although greatly affected by his misfortune, kept good order on board his vessel. All the troops were disembarked in safety: we have not to regret the loss of a single man, and have saved the rigging and materials of the ship. The frigate La Cornélie set out for Jamaica the 27th February, and La Bayonnaise has sailed this day, the 28th, for the United States. I have this instant received the following dispatch from Captain Bourdon, Commandant of the fleet at Port-au-Paix.

"Agreeable to the orders which I received from Captain Gourrege, on your part, I sent out the frigate La Furieuse for Le Môle Saint Nicholas, with instructions agreeable to those you have prescribed.

"At the moment of its departure there arrived here a numerous deputation, consisting of blacks and whites, from the commune of Jean Rabell, bringing a petition signed by a great number of citizens who offered to submit without striking a blow, and begged the aid of troops to second and assist the entrance of the frigate into the Môle. General Humbert has consented to supply them with 100 men of the Marine Artillery, which the frigate may leave at Jean Rabell: she is next to present herself before the Mole, and fulfil exactly the orders I have given them on your part. I have forwarded from hence a messenger to observe these important points. He is this day returned with satisfactory tokens.

"This information, Citizen Minister, gives us reason to hope that in a few days we shall occupy Le Môle St. Nicholas, and you well know how to appreciate the importance of this position.

"Accept, Citizen Minister, the assurance of my respect.

"VILLARET."

DUTY ON THE TONNAGE OF SHIPS.

To Mr. Cobbett.

Sir,

With regret I observe, that it is the intention of the legislature to lay a heavy duty upon shipping, both in the foreign and coasting trade; and feeling as I do, that such a measure is fraught with bad consequences to this country, I beg leave, through the channel of your paper, to offer a few considerations to the public, on this important subject.

It has heretofore been the constant policy of this country to make our commerce subservient to navigation on every occasion where the two interests were likely to clash with each other.—The wise and salutary regulations enacted by our ancestors on this principle, have raised this country to a height of unparalleled greatness and prosperity, and we are now decidedly the first maritime nation in the world; experience having taught us the great advantages resulting from this wise system of our forefathers, the benefits of which we are now enjoying in so transcendant a degree, it is the interest and duty of every true Briton to endeavour with all his energy to preserve, and deliver it unimpaired to posterity.—The strength and resources displayed by this country during the long and arduous struggle we have been engaged in, have attracted the notice and admiration of the other powers of Europe, which they very justly have attributed to the wisdom and efficacy of our navigation laws; in consequence it has now become their policy, (a striking and recent proof of which we have before us in the northern confederacy) to endeavour to rival and supplant us in that important branch of commerce and power, the carrying trade: it therefore behoves the legislature of this country, to pause, and consider well before they adopt this new and impolitic measure of taxing British shipping, which must ultimately tend to forward the views of our contending rivals, and give them that superiority they are so anxious to obtain.—In order to appreciate justly the expedience or inexpedience of this tax, let us take a view of the state of the carrying trade of this country, at this trying crisis:—During the late war, by the wonderful exertions of our gallant seamen, we have not only preserved our own territories from the threatened invasion of our enemies, but we have been enabled to take and possess almost all their distant colonies and dependencies; so that, in fact, the greatest part of the trade of the whole world has been wrested from them, and fallen into our hands.—From this cause has arisen an unusual and unprecedented demand for shipping, to meet which (besides the numerous captures of merchantmen made by our cruizers from the enemy) great exertions have been made by building, and an immense capital has been embarked in that branch of commerce.—In consequence of the return of peace, we must now be contented to share that trade with other maritime nations, and with this superabundance of shipping, from the cause before stated, at least one-third of them must lie unemployed, and the other two-thirds will be employed to a certain loss: can this crisis, then, be a proper period for laying a heavy tax on this property and trade? It may perhaps be said, that the tax will fall on the merchandize, but this I deny; under the multiplicity of their undemanded numbers, they cannot have the power to enforce the tax on the merchandize, by increasing the rate of freights.—It ought also to be remembered, that they have to contend with foreign ships, in which competition they have not an equal chance; all their dependence in this conflict must be on the enterprising spirit, frugality, and industry of English seamen; for, exclusive of any tonnage duties, there are many natural disadvantages, as the excessive high prices of provisions, with their consequent attendant high wages; besides, their expenses in navigating is considerably augmented by the comparative prices of naval stores paid by English owners, and those paid by foreigners. In this latter view the intended tax will operate as a double impost on *shipping*; for, whilst the minister means to mitigate the duties on exports to one half of what was paid under the Convoy Act, (with a view no doubt to encourage our manufactories) it seems his intention is to take the full tonnage duties as stated by that act; nay, further, he proposes one-third additional duties on all the *imports*, which includes almost every article of naval stores; consequently it will operate in a two-fold degree, being a tax upon tonnage, and also a tax upon all materials used by shipping.

Let us now consider how the proposed tax of six-pence per ton on all our coasting ships will affect that department of trade. Although, by the salutary regulations of the Navigation Act, we are not in danger from foreign competition in this branch of commerce, yet, nevertheless, it will be attended with great disadvantages to this country. Much merchandize passes from port to port, where they lie contiguous, at very low rates of freight. This is particularly the case in the corn trade, where grain is exported from place to place as low as one shilling per quarter, which is very beneficial, as it nearly equalizes the price throughout the kingdom, consequently this tax will be a prohibition to all small freights for short distances, as it would frequently amount to a great part of the whole sum paid for carriage; nor supposing it to fall

the commodity, can it bear the impost, except when the difference in price between the ports is material. In the coal trade too it will be felt very severely, for this tonnage duty alone will be a tax of five-pence or six-pence per chaldron, although this article of Coals, (at least when brought to London) is already so overborne with imposts and customs, that it is impossible for the importers to obtain a price sufficient to pay the expenses, much less can they make any profit,—the reasonable reward which every man is entitled to for his industry.

Neither can I perceive in any point of view, a reasonable ground or utility, why a tax should be laid on merchandize, and likewise upon tonnage. If the principle holds good in this case, *that every tax must find its level, and fall on the consumer*, upon what ground is the tax divided, part on the merchandize, and part on the ship? Why is it not laid upon the merchandize totally in the first instance, and not left in part to be transferred to its remaining part on the commodity, where, by every principle of taxation, it is expected to be borne? Upon the whole, this duty will tend to reduce our carrying trade, and destroy the established and valuable nurseries for our seamen, the effects of which will be sensibly felt by our navy in a future war.—It ought likewise to be considered, that 130,000 of those brave men have been employed in the service of their country, the greatest part of which must now be discharged; and therefore it highly behoves the government, by every possible means, to encourage and protect British shipping, that they may be enabled to find subsistence in a country during peace, which they have so nobly defended through the War. If that interest be not attended to, our seamen will most certainly be forced to emigrate to foreign countries, for want of employment in their own.

Strongly impressed with these sentiments, it is my devout and ardent wish, that the legislature may deliberate, and maturely weigh the consequences of such a measure, before they attempt to break through the system and policy of our ancestors, by fettering the navigation of this kingdom with heavy imposts, which it has hitherto been the unceasing labour of their predecessors to foster and protect, and which has elevated us to the unexampled pitch of greatness and prosperity that we now enjoy.

Amor Patriæ.

London, *April* 12, 1802.

FOR THE POLITICAL REGISTER.

A Simile.

As when the source of life and light retires
To veil in ocean's wave his unquench'd fires,
Vapours and fogs, and deadly dews arise,
And the pale moon usurps the vacant skies.
The wat'ry pageant of th' unwholesome hour,
The cheerless type of *delegated* power;
From him she borrows, not like **him** returns,
The heat that quickens or the fire **that** burns;
But one chill *solemn* influence sheds around,
And locks in *deathlike* PEACE the faded ground.
Beneath her orb th' accurs'd their vigils keep,
Beneath her orb the *country's guardians* sleep.
No arts adorn her desolated reign,
No labour throngs to her abandon'd plain.
Unhallowed ravens from the churches call,
And owls infest the law's deserted hall.
Through the dark land the beasts of rapine roar,
And *rebel* waves insult the trembling shore.

O'er the black philtre and the love brew'd charm
Her baleful aspect sheds the power to harm;
In dull lethargic ties the soul to bind,
And in unnatural unions chain **mankind.**
The stars that shrunk before the **blaze** of day,
Now feebly shoot an unresisted **ray,**
Proud of permitted power—while *curs* unclean
In clam'rous adulation hail the **scene.**
Oh, rise again, indignant Phœbus rise,
And sweep the pageant from th' **insulted** skies;
The flood of life and light again **restore,**
And bid the wise and virtuous *sleep no more.**

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* Without having any pretentions to criticism on writing of this sort, we may venture to doubt, whether the poet does not here discover a want of justice towards the palid moon, the chilling fogs, and the noxious vapours. Why rail against them? They have a right to take their turn. Besides, if Mr. Phœbus lags *too long* behind the globe; as the poet seems to insinuate, the fault is, in reality his; more especially if the poet's statement be true, that Phœbus has "*delegated*" the moon, &c. to occupy his place. He may, indeed, not without consistency, resume the power which he has delegated; but, we think, it is going rather too far to suppose him "*indignant*" at the influence of the elements, however baleful, which he himself has raised, and which (as the poet admits) he still voluntarily suffers to exist, which is nearly the same thing as doing himself the mischief attributed to them.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,

His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

My Lord,

I now come to the 5th point, which I proposed to discuss; namely, the *cession of Louisiana*, and, as an inevitable consequence, of *the Floridas*, by Spain to France.

Laying aside, for the present, the flagrant and criminal neglect to obtain, in the Definitive Treaty, a renunciation of this cession, I shall proceed to point out some of the consequences of the cession itself.

The acquisition I am now speaking of, may be viewed in three distinct lights; *first*, as giving to France an addition of dominion and of commercial and maritime resources; *secondly*, as subjecting the United States of America to the dictates of her interests or her ambition, and thereby endangering our commercial intercourse and connection with a country which, at this time, consumes more than one fourth of all our exported manufactures; and, *thirdly*, as a military and naval position, from whom she will be able to annoy Canada, and the United States, to seize on the Spanish mines, and to harras, if not cut off, a considerable portion of the trade of Great-Britain.

What I have to say, my Lord, on all of these points, will, perhaps, amount to little more than what I have, at different times, already said; but, though, I do not expect to produce any effect on your lordship, I am not quite so destitute of hope with respect to others, who may not possess an "*hereditary disposition to office*," and, therefore, I am inclined to venture on repetition, rather than to lose the chance of giving a triumph to truth.

First, *as giving to France an addition of dominion and of maritime resources*, the acquisition of Louisiana and the Floridas (for one without the other she cannot have) is of the utmost importance. We will, for a moment, suppose her to hold these colonies merely as such, merely for the purposes of cultivation, for the sake of their produce, and as a market for her own goods, in this view alone they are invaluable. The lands in Louisiana are unquestionably the richest in the world. From the borders of the Mississippi the whole of the French West-India colonies may, at a very low rate, be supplied with provisions and lumber, which are the articles of the very first necessity to those colonies, and which our colonies are compelled to purchase, at a high price, from the United States of America. The lands in the Floridas, and in the lower parts of Louisiana, produce rice and cotton in as great abundance, and with as little cultivation, as the lands of Georgia. The article of cotton is, at this time in particular, of great moment. It is an article, which feeds the most extensive and most profitable of all manufactures. By the peace we have stripped ourselves of all the colonies whence we imported any considerable quantity of cotton, and we must, in future, depend, in this respect, almost entirely on foreign countries, on countries under the controul of our rival and enemy, while that rival and enemy not only possesses her full share of the cotton lands in the West-Indies, but has now added to her dominions, cotton lands equal in goodness and greater in extent than those of Georgia itself.

Your lordship will, perhaps, tell me, that cotton plantations are not rendered productive in a day. No, my lord, not in *a day*, it is true; but, if your lordship, or the board of trade, knows any thing about the commerce of the American States (of which I very much doubt), you must know, that it does not require a *great many* days to render such lands productive. Only *ten* years ago, America grew hardly any cotton. She wanted very little indeed of this article in the raw state, but what she did want she *imported*. This same country exported last year 18 millions of pounds of this valuable material, more than nine-tenths of which grew in the state of *Georgia*; and your lordship will see by the map * hereunto annexed, that Georgia is divided from the Floridas by a mere land mark, and from Louisiana only by the Mississippi.†

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* The map contains the following *errata*. The strong black line describes the course of the River Mississippi, and therefore the word "*Mississippi*" should have followed that line, instead of winding away with the course of a little river towards the north west.—The words "*Esperitu Santo B.*" should have been placed a little higher up, opposite the bay which receives the waters of the two little rivers, one coming from the north east, and the other from the south east.—For "*Hilsborough Ilet*" read *Hillsborough Inlet*.—There is a small mistake in the shape of the letter *d*, in the word *Providence*.

† The quantity of cotton exported last year, by the United States of America, surpasses the greatest quantity ever exported, in one year, by *all the West-India Islands put together*. The land capable of bearing cotton, in Louisiana reaches two hundred miles to the Northward, and towards the West they have no limits but those of the Continent itself.

35°
95°
90°
85°
80°
35
30°
25°
LOUISIANA
Mississippi River
UNITED STATES
WEST FLORIDA
New Orleans
Mouths of the Mississippi
Pensacola
EAST FLORIDA
Cape Lookout
Savannah
Mary's R.
St. Augustin
Espiritu Santo B.
R. Bravo
GULF of MEXICO
Hillsborough River
Chatham Bay
Gulf of
Havanna
CUBA
Provi dence
95 Long. West from Green.

Should your lordship, or the sagacious Mr. Chalmers, ask how it comes to pass, that the Spaniards have never been able to make any thing of these cotton lands? I ask you, in return, how it comes to pass, that they have not been able to make any thing of two-thirds of the island of St. Domingo, while the French have exported, annually, produce to the amount of *seven millions sterling* from the other third of the same island? But, my lord, the Spaniards *have* been able to make something of the cotton lands on the banks of the Mississippi. They have, in some degree, profited from the example of their more industrious neighbours; and New Orleans cotton is not less familiar to the ears of the merchant than that of Savannah. The cultivation has already been successfully begun, and there wants nothing but the enterprize of the French, and the market of Europe, which France has at her absolute command, to render the territory, now ceded to her, the first in the world for the produce of a commodity in the manufacture of which we have long been an object of her envy.—The sages of the Board of Trade may illuminate their houses, because the cotton lands of the Mississippi and the manufacturing population of Belgium have passed together into the hands of the French; but the nation will finally feel the effects of this transfer, and it is *feeling* alone, my lord, that can teach them to estimate the merits of statesmen, who have an "*hereditary disposition of office.*"

Secondly, this cession may be viewed, *as giving to the French a commanding influence over the will of the government and people of the United States, to the prejudice of Great-Britain.* And here, my lord, I am particularly anxious to direct your attention to the map, which I have caused to be made purely for the instruction of your lordship. "How poor a thing may do a noble office!" Had the shoeless wretch, who, in a garret at Garlic Hill, engraved this map, been called upon ten months sooner to perform his task, your lordship's mind might have been enlightened, and a continent might have been saved from the fangs of France!

The states of Kentucky and Tennessee, and the other districts which are not yet formed into states, together with the back part of the state of Georgia, contain a population of about half a million of souls; that is to say, a tenth part of the whole population of the United States. These people are separated from the Eastern part of the Union by a wilderness of three, four, or five hundred miles. Their produce, which is raised on the most fertile soil in the world, their beef, their pork, their butter, their Indian corn, their wheat, their lumber, their shingles, their staves, their boats and their sloops, all the produce of their lands and of their labour, must find its way to market down the river Mississippi, of which the French will now have the sole command by being in possession of New Orleans. This place, which has increased of late years in an astonishing degree, and which is very considerable in point of population and wealth, has not only the command of the river, but it is the only convenient place of deposit for goods coming down from the American settlements. By a treaty with Spain, which was, however, not obtained without some difficulty and a good deal of address, the Americans obtained the free passage of the Mississippi; but France has stipulated for a transfer of Louisiana, with all its attendant rights of sovereignty, without any exception relative to the treaty entered into between America and Spain. A similar treaty must now be obtained from France, or the Mississippi may, at any moment, be shut against the people of Kentucky and Tennessee. France, therefore, without any hostile attemps on this new and detached part of the Union, without even having recourse to threats, is at once placed in a situation to dictate terms to the United States. Besides this circumstance, she will have the people themselves in her favour. They have very little attachment to their Eastern brethren; their interests are totally separate; they are, indeed, the rivals of the latter, and can be expected to make no sacrifices for the preservation of union with them. All the protection they want is, occasionally, against the Indians, which would be much more effectually afforded by the legions of France, than by their own distant, and, in a military point of view, feeble government. As to patriotism, he must be very little acquainted with their history who expects to find it amongst them. Not one of those, who is arrived at years of maturity, was born upon the spot. They are entirely composed of emigrants; all speculators or agricultural adventurers; men who understand *soil*, indeed, extremely well, but who know nothing of *country*; who, like the late Duke of Bedford of glorious memory, can distinguish "with a learned spirit" all the various qualities of sand and gravel and loom and marle and chalk and lime and mud and dung, but who

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who have no more idea of national honour and independence, who think no more about their ancestors or their posterity, than the gamblers of 'Change Alley, or the framers of the treaty of Amiens.

Such people, my lord, you well know, are not much disposed to make sacrifices for the good of their country. Yet, for many and weighty reasons, the government and people of the United States will be extremely loth to give up or endanger the allegiance of the Western Settlers. France too, will, for a time at least, have no desire to receive that allegiance; but, she will not fail to regard its existence in the hands of the United States as a pledge for their devotion to her will. When or how she may begin to turn this advantage to account, it is impossible to say; but, when our commercial treaty with the United States expires, which will be in *two years* from the signature of the Preliminaries between us and our new friend Buonaparté, I shall be very much astonished if British goods are suffered to enter the ports of America upon their present footing. Your lordship seems to think that commercial treaties are of *no use*, and, I dare say, you rejoice at the prospect of our getting rid of one more of the few that remain to cramp our operations: with you, therefore, it is useless to argue, but let me ask the manufacturers, how they would like to hear that America had imposed a duty of ten or twenty per centum more on their goods, than on similar goods from Holland, Germany, or France? They will, perhaps, answer, that they shall still endeavour to support a competition, and if they should fail, they can, as a last resource, *transfer their capital to the more favoured dominions of France*; to which of course, I have nothing to reply.

The French will not, however, exert their influence in this respect openly and despotickly. They will endeavour to give plausibility to their proceedings. They will allege, that they wish not to deprive Great Britain of her commerce, but to make her give up her *navigation laws*, and to come into a system, less harsh and hostile towards other nations, a system which shall, in future, prevent her from being "the tyrant of the seas". These reasons will be satisfactory to all the maritime nations, and particularly to America, the President of which was himself the original author of the very system that France has now adopted, and that she will spare nothing to enforce; because it is the only means by which she can destroy the foundation of our naval power, on which alone our national existence depends.

"But," say the sleek-headed sons of Hope, "the Americans, surely, will not so easily be weaned from their British habits, and British connections; the ties of language and of blood will not so easily be broken." I will tell you, my lord, what the Americans think on this subject, which they have already discussed, and the substance of which discussion I will now give you in their own words, taken from the "BALTIMORE EXAMINER" of the 6th of last month. —"The high-flying friends of monarchy, "who wish to fill us with gloom, because "they themselves have cause to be gloomy, "now lament that the French did not re- "main in Egypt rather than come to settle "on the banks of the Mississippi, which, "according to their predictions, will finally "compel us to break our commercial con- "nections with Britain. We also lament "that the friends of liberty have been forced "to quit Egypt, because, as well-wishers of "the whole human race, we hoped they "would have rescued the people of Africa, "as well as those of Asia, from the odious "tyranny under which they have laboured "for so many years; but we see no cause "to regret, that the troops who have eva- "cuated Egypt should now come to receive "a reward for their valour on the fruitful "banks of the Mississippi. They are men "and republicans, and we have no objec- "tion to their sharing in the happiness "that our Western fellow-citizens enjoy. "That they will make our navigation of "the Mississippi depend on any part of "our commercial regulations there is "good reason to doubt. Suppose other- "wise, suppose they should desire us even "to shut our ports against Britain, who, ex- "cept the friends of Britain, the friends of "a monarchy, and of a monarchy too that "tyrannizes over the seas, would, for a mo- "ment, hesitate to grant the request. Why "should we quarrel with France merely "for the sake of preserving a market for "British manufactures? For some time the "want of those manufactures might create "some inconvenience; but that inconve- "nience would be productive of good, as "it would, in the end, greatly encourage "our own domestic manufactures, and, in "the mean time, a supply would be af- "forded us by other countries, who would "gladly take up a branch of trade that the "haughtiness and injustice of Britain had "thrown away."

Thus, you see, my lord, the Americans

have made their mind up on the matter; they are resolved not to submit to any sacrifice for our sake; and, indeed, they appear to anticipate, with no small delight, the injury that England may experience from the commercial revolution, to which the cession of Louisiana will give rise: so great is their eagerness for our ruin, that they totally overlook the danger and disgrace which must thereby be brought upon themselves.

It is true, indeed, that these sentiments are entertained only by the democratic party, the party of Jefferson; but recollect, my lord, that party has now obtained a complete ascendency. It is the party that rules, and that will rule for many years to come. Your treaty has not only transferred to France our riches and our power, but our friends also, in every part of the world, and particularly in the American States. This is, as it should be; contempt is the just reward of cowardice: they who have deserted their friends must expect to be deserted in return. Whenever your lordship may wish to know why England is now universally detested and despised, ask Portugal; ask the King of Sardinia; and, if they should remain silent, conjure up the manes of the murdered royalists of La Vendée.

Thirdly, *as a military and naval position*, Louisiana and the Floridas present themselves to us in a light still more alarming, than either of the other two, under which we have already considered them.

With respect to the *United States of America*, France will, for a long time at least, make her military and naval power subservient to her commercial views. Her new position operates as a constant, though silent, menace against the union of those states, which, while she can render them useful in the injuries, which she meditates against England, it will never be her interest to divide. Indeed, she sees in the United States the most formidable rival of Great Britain, in matters of commerce and navigation, and for that reason, as well as for the purpose of insuring their aid in any future war against us, she will take special care not to hurry into any measure against them that may have the appearance of hostility, that may injure their interests, or wound their pride.

But, towards *Canada* she will look with very different eyes. Those who know any thing of the Northern boundaries of Louisiana, must perceive, that the cession of that country to France enables her, at any hour she may choose, to enter into our last remaining provinces in that part of the world, where, I am sorry to say it, a vast majority of the natives would receive her with infinite joy. Dr. Beeke and Sir Frederick Eden will comfort your lordship by insisting, that Canada is not worth our preserving: against such politicians there is no argument to be opposed; and, if colonies be really a burden, if the fur-trade of Canada, and the market for our manufactures which that country affords, be also a burden, we have the satisfaction to know, that they are burdens, from which we shall, probably, very soon be relieved. Sir Alexander Mackenzie has clearly shewn, that the principal seat of the fur-trade is at the sources of those rivers, which fall into the Mississippi, and that those who have the command of that river, and are disposed to employ it for the prosecution of this trade, may easily monopolize it. There wants no new establishments, my lord, to transfer this trade to France. The Indians, who hunt for the furs, and the Canadians who collect them, are already on the spot, and are much more attached to France than to England. When, therefore, the whole country, and the Mississippi which flows through that country to the gulph of Mexico, are in the hands of the power for whom they already entertain a partiality, it would be folly in the extreme to hope, that they would seek for a market on the banks of the St. Laurence. Should they, however, contrary to all reason, be disposed to do this, France will have the power of preventing them, by seizing on Canada itself, which, I think, has been clearly pointed out in the Register, p. 253; and, I can assure your lordship, that the correctness of the statement there given has been fully confirmed by the opinion of several gentlemen, with whom I have since conversed on the subject, and who, to a deep interest in the affairs of Canada unite a thorough knowledge of its trade, of its internal situation, and its means of defence. The expression of one of these gentlemen, who stands high in military command in Canada, and who has passed great part of his life in the countries of which I am speaking, was, that "the "French, once in possession of Louisiana, "might *walk* into Canada whensoever they "pleased."

From the cold regions of the North, my lord, from the haunts of the martin and the beaver, let us now turn to the mines of the South. In ceding Louisiana to France, Spain has not stipulated for *boundaries*. The dominion that France formerly claimed

and she never recedes), extended, on the sea board, towards the South, as far as the Rio Bravo, which your lordship may see marked on the map. The mouth of this river, which affords good anchorage for vessels of almost any size, places the all-powerful Republic at no more than 60 miles from St. Andre, 123 miles from Panuco and St. Yago, and 300 miles from the city of Mexico itself, to all which places there is a road from Rio Bravo, much easier to pass than the space between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, which cost the American militia a march of only one-and-twenty days.

Supposing, therefore, Spain to be independent of France, and supposing La Vera Cruz capable of resisting the attacks of the latter, Mexico is completely exposed to her grasp by the cession, at which your lordship and your colleague have dared to connive. What the consequences of this exposure may be to England it is impossible precisely to say; but, those who can contemplate it without anxiety and dread, must have arrived at that happy state of insensibility, which enables men to smile while the ruins of their country are tumbling around on their heads.

But, great as are the injuries, which must inevitably arise to us from the command, which this cession will give to France over the United States, Canada, and Mexico, those to be apprehended with respect to our *naval power*, and particularly our *navigation in the West-India seas*, are of a nature and magnitude still more alarming. Whether the Floridas are *formally* ceded or not along with Louisiana, it is certain they must be under the command of France. She wants not those provinces but as a naval position, in which point of view they are extremely important in themselves, and singularly formidable to us. At the same time that they abound in ship-timber of every sort, from the keel to the top-gallant yard, they afford harbours for sheltering the fleets of our enemy, while the Mississippi pours down abundance of provisions for her men. There are two stations, in particular, in these colonies, from which, if we should ever see another war, we must expect the most serious annoyance. The first, and most capacious, is the bay of Espiritu Santo, in which the French have already projected a naval establishment, and for an account of which I refer your lo[rdship] to the speech of Governor Johnstone, [in] the peace of 1783, which peace put an end to what I greatly fear will prove to have been our *first Punic war**. The situation of this excellent harbour your lordship will learn from the map. You will see that it is not 250 miles, not 48 hours sail, from the Gulph of Florida, which is the passage, and the *only* passage, by which a convoy can come home from Jamaica. It should moreover be observed, that, in consequence of the course of the Gulph stream, our ships are obliged to bear up, in the Gulph of Mexico, to within about 130 miles of Espiritu Santo; so that it is next to impossible that a fleet, consisting of thirty or forty ships, should ever escape the observation of the cruizers from that harbour. Should our trade, however, have the good fortune to enter the Gulph of Florida unobserved from Espiritu Santo, or from the Havannah (which lies on the opposite side of the entrance) how is it to elude observation from the inlet of Hillsborough, the other point at which the French have planned a naval establishment? The Gulph, in this part, is not more than a hundred miles wide altogether, and the charts will inform your lordship, that even a single vessel of any considerable size cannot, in a clear day, pass unobserved from the heights in the vicinity of Hillsborough. Thus, in case of another war, if the French act with that sagacity and vigour, which have characterized all their plans and operations, our communication with the West-India islands will be completely cut off. In fact, the new distribution of power in the Western hemisphere, has totally changed the nature of our connection therewith. While the French have the command of the Amazons on one side, and of the Mississippi on the other, while they possess the ports of St. Domingo and Florida, we may talk of West-

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* "Governor Johnstone dwelt, particularly, on the value of East Florida, which was ceded to Spain, and stated that when he was appointed governor of it, two commissions were obliged to be made out, in consequence of a geographical blunder in the first. He said ministers knew not the value of that province, either in point of situation, or of commercial produce; there was a bay in it, called the Bay of Espiritu Santo, that was one of the finest harbours in the world. (Mr. Secretary Townsend looking a little surprised at this, the governor said, "I see the "right hon. secretary of state is ignorant where the "bay lies.") It lies in the Gulph of Mexico, on the north-west side of the province, is called Tampa Bay, or Espiritu Santo, and is one of the finest harbours in the world, infinitely better and more healthy than the Havannah. There, the ships are eaten by the worms, and the men are liable to much sickness; in the Bay of Espiritu Santo, neither of these inconveniencies are experienced."

India territory and trade, but we can enjoy them only as vassals of France.

Having now, my lord, pointed out the mischiefs and dangers to be apprehended from the cession of Louisiana, it is hardly necessary to observe, that the cession itself is to be ascribed to the peace; but, it is of some moment to prove, that its confirmation could not have taken place without *a departure from the Preliminary Articles*; and that, therefore, those persons who approved of those articles, are, by no rule of consistency, bound to approve of the Definitive Treaty.

This cession was not publicly known, it was not officially known to you and your very worthy fellow labourer in the work of peace, at the time of signing the Preliminary Articles. Since that day, a day which will stand for ever blasted in the annals of England, this cession, as far at least as relates to Louisiana, has been publicly and officially announced to the world. By the promulgation of a treaty (See Register, p. 52), concluded between France and Spain, on the 21st of March, 1801, which treaty was never published till January, 1802 (more than three months after the conclusion of our Preliminary Articles with France), we now know, that Spain has ceded to our enemy the entire possession and sovereignty of Louisiana.

Now, unless your lordship should insist, that, by agreeing to the Preliminary Articles, this country resigned all pretension to interfere in, or to enquire into, the conduct or views of the other nations of the world; unless you should insist, that, by that act, she forfeited all her national rights, not excepting even the right of self-preservation, you must allow, that the conditions of the Preliminary Articles were, by the contracting parties, viewed in connection with the *known* extent of dominion, respectively possessed by those parties; and, as a very great and dangerous addition is now made to that extent, it follows that a Definitive Treaty, made with the knowledge of that addition, and without any stipulation against it, is, in that respect, a departure from the conditions of the Preliminary Treaty.

Here, my lord, I close this letter with a promise to lose no time in taking up the remaining points of discussion.

I am, my lord,
Your lordship's most humble,
And most obedient servant,
Wm. Cobbett.

13, Pall-Mall, 21 April, 1802.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Regency of Tunis.

The First Consul of the French Republic, wishing to renew the articles of peace anciently agreed upon between France and Tunis, and to add thereto new articles, has appointed for this purpose Jacques Devoize, who by virtue of full powers given to him as the representative of the First Consul of the French Republic, has agreed with his Excellency Hamouda Pacha Bey and the Divan of Tunis, upon the following additional articles:

1. The First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, and his Excellency Hamouda Pacha Bey, and the Divan of Tunis, do confirm and renew all preceding treaties, particularly that of 1742.

2. The French nation shall be maintained in the enjoyment of all those privileges and exemptions which it enjoyed before the war; and being more distinguished and more useful than other natives established at Tunis, it shall also be the most favoured.

3. Whenever any French ship of war shall stop at the Goulette, the commissary of the Republic, or some one for him, shall be allowed to go on board without molestation.

4. The commissary of the French Republic shall appoint, and change at his pleasure, the Dragomans and the Janissaries in the service of the Commissariat.

5. The merchandizes coming from France in French vessels, either to Tunis or any other ports dependent upon it, shall only pay as heretofore, a custom duty of 3 per cent. which shall not be collected on merchandize, but in the current coin of the country. The Tunisian subjects shall enjoy in France the same privilege.

6. All merchandize coming from countries at war with the regency, and which shall be imported into Tunis by French merchants, shall continue to pay a custom duty of three per cent.; and in case of a war between the French Republic and any other power, the merchandizes belonging to and laden in France on account of the French merchants, in vessels belonging to neutral powers, friends of the regency, shall only pay the duty of three per cent. until the cessation of hostilities. Reciprocal regulations shall be made in France, with respect to the Tunisians.

7. The Jewish brokers and other strangers resident at Tunis, in the service of the French merchants, shall be under the protection of the Republic; but if they import merchandize into the kingdom, they shall pay the impost usually paid by the subjects of the country to which they belong; and if any difference arise between them and the Christians or Moors of the country, they shall come with their antagonists before the commissary of the French Republic, where they shall choose, at their own option, two French and two Moorish merchants of the first rank, to decide their disputes.

8. Every individual of any country, which, by conquest or by treaty, shall have been re-united to the states of the French Republic, who shall be found in a state of captivity in the kingdom of Tunis, shall be set at liberty on the first request of the commissary of the Republic; but if that individual shall have been taken in the service and pay of a power at war with the regency, he shall not be released, but remain a prisoner.

9. In the event of a rupture between the two powers, the French residents at Tunis shall not be any ways molested; they shall be allowed the space of three months, during which they shall enjoy all manner of liberty and protection; and upon the expiration of that term, they shall be at liberty to retire unmolested with their effects, to wherever they may think proper.

Done at Tunis the 23d of February, 1802, or the 21st of the month Chewal, in the year one thousand two hundred and six of the Hegira.

(Signed) *Devoize*,
Commissary-General of the French Republic with the Bey of Tunis.
Hamouda,
Pacha-Bey of Tunis.

Letter of Hamouda, Pacha-Bey of Tunis, to the First Consul of the French Republic.

To the most distinguished among the followers of the Messiah, the greatest of those who profess the religion of Jesus, the First Consul of the French Republic, our highly honoured and sincere friend Buonaparté, may whose end be happiness and the summit of prosperity!

The present friendly letter is to remind you that heretofore (by the permission of the Supreme Being,) a slight coolness took place between us; in consequence of which, Citizen Devoize, your commissary here, was obliged to return to you. Now that happy days have succeeded, and that this coolness has been changed into sincere friendship, by the return hither of our friend the Commissary Devoize, who has resumed his functions, and put an end to this indifference by re-establishing the ancient union and amity, for which you have again established and confirmed him in his post, as you inform me in your friendly letter, which he delivered in your name, the contents of which I have understood, and am satisfied with.—Be pleased to know that, after conferring with the said commissary, we have agreed that the ancient treaties, dated according to our Hegira 1155 (or of the Christian æra 1742) shall be on both sides renewed, and though it was not necessary to add others, yet in consideration of your sincere friendship, to which I ought to make a suitable return, I have amicably consented with yout commissary to add to the ancient treaties nine new articles, and still more to unite and cement our sincere and unalterable friendship, our Divan, according to ancient usage, assisted at the instalment of the flag of the French Republic, which was hoisted at the house of the said commissary; and in consequence of the same friendship which prevails between us, I have consigned and delivered into the hands of the said commissary 35 Christians, subjects of countries which were before enemies to our regency, and which at present are under your dominion; and to give you a more striking proof of our sincere friendship, though the same Christians were subjects of the said countries, I have set them at liberty, in order that the said commissary may send them to you along with this amicable letter, by which I desire to give you an authentic proof of the lively and sincere friendship, which reigns between us, and which will always increase.

Tunis, the 5th day of the moon Zilkaade, of the Hegira 1216 (Ventôse 17th, 10th year of the French Republic,) March 8.

(Signed) *Hamouda*,
Pacha-Bey of Tunis.

The Council of State of the Italian Republic, to the First Consul of the French Republic, President of the Italian Republic.

"*Milan, April* 5, 1802.

"The peace which you have concluded with England, crowns your warlike and political operations.

"In six years you have traversed the space of many years of glory.

"The astonished universe looks upon you as a man unparalleled (*unique*). Europe groaned under the weight of a disastrous war, of which history offers no example.

"You said, Let these evils cease; and the evils ceased. You have shut the gates of the temple of Janus.

"Sublime benefactor of humanity, taste the noble satisfaction of having established the greatness of our nation, and of having secured the happiness of Europe.

"The General Council of the Italian Republic becomes the interpreter of the national gratitude, and entreats you to accept of its homage. The homage of children is sweet to the heart of a parent; yes, we are your children, and that precious title is your greatest glory.

"*Melzi*, Vice-President."

The Vice-President of the Italian Republic to his Fellow Citizens.

"*Milan, April* 1.

"The Definitive Peace between France, England, Spain, and the Batavian Republic, was solemnly signed on the 25th of March. The treaty of Luneville had already secured continental peace; that of Amiens secures maritime peace. These disastrous resentments, which for so long a time divided and distracted nations, are at last extinguished.

"The peace proclaimed is general.—The treaty of Amiens shall tell posterity, that if Buonaparté was great by his valour, he was so no less by his wisdom. Let us therefore rejoice, fellow-citizens; we to whom that great man peculiarly belongs by so many titles, the founder of our liberty, the restorer, the support, and the guide of our Republic. Is not his glory the pledge of our independence? And to whom can his name and his glory be dearer than to us? Let us therefore rejoice and take courage; let us put an end to the fatal uncertainties which hitherto have kept opinions divided, and sentiments suppressed.

"No, our destiny is no longer uncertain: it no longer depends, except on ourselves. Prosperity, security in the interior, independence, and consequence abroad; all is in our power, if we will it. Let us therefore will it boldly, and I swear to you that our country shall be happy and powerful. But to consolidate the unity and the force of a state composed of discordant and divided parts; to create a strict and pure administration amidst the enormous corruption which weighs down this country, to confirm the grandeur and prosperity of a people just emerging from the disasters of revolution, of conquest, and of war; this is not the work of one man or of one day.

"That great work cannot be accomplished without the union of wills, firm, constant, and directed to good; without the concurrence of the efforts of all the good and virtuous. The pretexts of malice, the excuses of timidity shall no longer be admitted; to hesitate, to prefer one's own personal advantage to the service of the public, is a crime, when the country calls the good to labour in repairing past disasters, and securing future happiness.

"To how many misfortunes shall be exposed, to how much remorse shall be condemned, such of her children as shall not hearken to her voice. Far be from us the thought, that the Italians can cover themselves with such disgrace. Nothing, in spite of the greatest difficulties, was ever impossible to them. They were seen trying every expedient when any thing regarded the interests of their children, their families, or their country.

"If the love of one's country was always a fruitful source of magnanimous enterprises, what ought we to hope, we who are to receive as the reward of our services, not only to serve, but to create a country?

"Let us, therefore, fellow-citizens, be impressed with our high destiny; and while we prepare ourselves to fulfil its difficult obligations, let us not cease to repeat, with a sentiment of the most profound gratitude, glory, and honour to these immortal phalanxes who have procured peace to the world.

"*Melzi.*
"*Guicciardi*,
"Counsellor of State."

PROCLAMATION.

The Consuls of the Republic to the French.

Frenchmen,

From the bosom of a revolution, inspired by the love of the country, burst forth at once, in the midst of you, religious dissentions, which became the scourge of your families, the nurse of factions, and the hope of your foes.

A senseless policy attempted to stifle them under the wrecks of altars and the ruins of religion herself. At the voice of that policy, those pious solemnities ceased

in which citizens called each other by the tender name of brothers, and acknowledged themselves all equal, under the hand of the God that had created them: the dying, alone with grief, no longer heard that consolatory voice which summons Christians to a better life; and God himself seemed exiled from nature.

But the public consciousness, but the sentiment of the independence of opinions arose, and soon, mixed by the enemies without, their explosions carried ravage and havock into our departments. Frenchmen forgot that they were Frenchmen, and became the instruments of foreign hate.

On the other hand, passions let loose, morality without support, misery without hope in futurity, every thing united to carry disorder and dismay into society.

To stop that disorder, it was necessary to re-fix religion on her basis, and this could not be done but by measures acknowledged by religion herself.

It was to the sovereign pontiff that the example of ages and reason commanded recourse to be had, to approximate opinions, and to conciliate hearts.

The head of the church has weighed, in his wisdom, and the interest of the church, the propositions which the interest of the state dictated; his voice was heard by the pastors; what he approves, the government have consented to, and the legislators have made it a law of the republic.

Thus disappear all the elements of discord; thus vanish all the scruples which might alarm consciences, and all the obstacles which ill-will might oppose to the return of internal peace.

Ministers of religion, of peace, let the deepest oblivion cover your dissentions, your miseries, and your faults; let the religion that unites you, bind you all in the same ties, in indissoluble ties, to the interests of the country.

Exert for her all the strength and ascendancy which your ministry gives you over the mind; let your lessons and your examples form the young citizens to the love of our institutions; to respect and attachment to the tutelary authorities which have been created to protect them; let them learn from you, that the god of peace is also the god of armies, and that he fights with those who defend the independence and freedom of France.

Citizens, who profess the protestant religion, the law has extended her solicitude equally to you. Let that morality common to all Christians, that morality so holy, so pure, so fraternal, unite them all in the same love for the country, the same respect for its laws, the same affection for all the members of the great family.

Let the contests respecting doctrine never injure the sentiments which religion inspires and commands.

Frenchmen!—be all united for the good of the country, and of humanity! Let that religion which has civilized Europe be again the tie that binds the inhabitants of it; and let the virtues it requires be ever associated to the lights that illuminate us.

The First Consul, (Signed) *Buonaparté*.

Given at Paris, at the Palace of Government, the 27th Germinal (April 17), 10th year of the French Republic.

ST. DOMINGO DISPATCHES.

Paris, April 10.

The General in Chief to the Minister of Marine.

Head-Quarters, Gros-Morne, the 8th Ventose, Feb. 27, 10th year of the French Republic.—1802.

"Citizen Minister,

"Agreeably to the information which I have already had the honour of sending to you, I opened the campaign on the 28th ultimo (January 18), and on that day General Desfourneaux's division advanced to Limbe; General Hardy's division advanced to the Great Boucan and to the Mornets, while that of General Rochambeau proceeded to the Tannerie, and to the Bois de L'Ance. A small force, composed of the garrisons of the Cape and of Fort Dauphin, marched towards St. Suzanne, Trou, and Velliere. These divisions had actions of a difficult nature to encounter, from the local advantages possessed by the natives, inasmuch as the rebels concealed themselves in the under wood, and impenetrable forests that shelter the valleys, and who possessed, when they were repulsed, a secure retreat in the Mornes. The troops whom I ordered to advance, have, notwithstanding, made themselves masters of the positions which I had given them orders to take.

"On the 29th, General Desfourneaux's division took a position near Plaisance; Hardy's division posted themselves at Dondon; and Rochambeau's at St. Raphael. These three divisions *discomfited* the enemy in all directions, with the greatest impetuosity. One must be acquainted with the country, in order to form a competent idea of the difficulties that are to be struggled with in every encounter. I experienced nothing in the Alps to be compared with them.

"On the 30th, Desfourneaux's division posted themselves at Plaisance, without meeting with any obstacle. This district was commanded by J. P. Dumesnel, a man of excellent character, who took the first opportunity of a parley with General Desfourneaux. He had under his command 200 cavalry and 300 infantry, and manifested the generous resolution of saving his country in spite of the orders issued by Toussaint to set every thing on fire.

"Hardy's division posted itself at Marmelade. Previous to its arrival they made themselves masters

of the Morne at Borspen, one of the most formidable positions which I have ever had occasion to attack since I entered into the military profession. This division entered Marmelade with fixed bayonets, though it was a post defended by General Christophe in person, who had under his command 1200 men of the line, and an equal number of common labourers.—Every thing gave way to French impetuosity. On the same day General Rochambeau took a position at St. Michel, where he met with very little resistance. His right column which was to pass by Marie-à-la-Roche, which was entrenched and defended by artillery and a body of 400 men, carried that position with the bayonet, without firing a single shot, and joined the General in the evening at St. Raphael.

" I was well aware that it was the enemy's intention to defend the Canton of Ennery and of Gonaïves, and for that reason I harassed them in that position as much as was in my power. With that view I dispatched General Debelle to Port-de-Paix, at the head of a division, and he had instructions to press hard, and drive back General Maurepas upon the Gonaïves. The latter General had under him 2000 troops of the line, and as many cultivators, entrenched about two leagues from Port-de-Paix, in the narrow pass of the Trois-Rivières. I thought it of great advantage to annihilate this corps, who had obtained some advantages over General Humbert. I gave orders to General Boudet to advance by Mirebalais, towards the Petite-Rivière, in order to cut off the enemy's retreat, whom I had hopes of discomfiting at the Gonaïves. Of these two divisions I could not avail myself, in order to give success to that operation.

" General Debelle, who, according to my calculations, should have landed his troops at Port-de-Paix on the 29th, could reach it only on the 30th, and that very late. The Eastern winds, which prevail upon the coast, having failed during the passage from the Cape to Port-de-Paix.

" On the 1st Ventôse (February 20) General Debelle proceeded to attack General Maurepas; but a dreadful fall of rain which came on prevented the column which was intended to turn the enemy's position from arriving in time. The columns which attacked the front of the position were overpowered with fatigue and could not carry it; and as to the column that was to turn the enemy's position, it employed twenty-four hours in executing that manœuvre, having been obstructed in its march by torrents and bad roads; it was moreover attacked by the whole force of the rebels collected together against it. It effected, however, a retreat in very good order. General Debelle had advanced to favour its motions.

" Boudet's division, on setting out from Port-au-Prince, marched towards the Croix-des-Bouquets, to which the rebels set fire on seeing him approach. General Dessalines, who commanded at this point, made a feint to retreat to the Montagne des Grands-Bois; but by a rapid march, he advanced towards Leogane after passing by the Montagne-Noire. I had left orders for General Boudet to dispatch a frigate to take possession of Leogane, but his forces were unable to preserve the town, which Dessalines had ordered to be set on fire. From thence Dessalines advanced against Jacmel, from whence he addressed a letter to me, signed by all the inhabitants of the commune, in which these wretches expressed their regret at not being under the barbarous and ferocious government of Toussaint. Never were heads cut off with more facility at Constantinople, or bastonadings bestowed with more generosity than at St. Domingo under the government of Toussaint and his adherents.

" General Boudet, who was aware of the intentions of General La Plume, who summoned the Southern district to submit to the French Government, did not think it expedient to depart from that interesting quarter. He dispatched thither 1300 men under the command of Adjutant Darbois, in order to force General Dessalines to retreat, and to determine the submission of General La Plume. This measure saved the Southern District. Dessalines retreated with his followers into the Grands-Bois, and General La Plume sent me a certificate of his submission. Since that time I have received no communications from General Boudet: I am only informed, that the day before yesterday he entered Saint Mark, which he found in part consumed by fire.

" On the 1st Ventôse the different divisions remained in their respective positions. On the 30th the weather was abominable, and continued so till the first.

" On the 2d, Desfourneaux's division advanced within two leagues of Plaisance. Hardy's division took possession of Ennery with the bayonet, as usual. This post was also defended by Christophe, who had under him 1000 troops of the line and 1200 cultivators. I learned that General Christophe had retreated to the Plantation Bayonnai: I immediately ordered General Hardy to dispatch thither the brigade of General Salm. This brigade, which had performed a very fatiguing march on the 2d, continued, nevertheless, to march the whole of the night, and, on break of day of the 3d, carried the position of Christophe. They, moreover made considerable booty, having got possession of a dépôt belonging to the rebels.

" On the 3d, Rochambeau's division posted itself at the head of the Ravine-à-Couleuvre, which leaves the Coupe-à-Linde to the left, and the Mornes, where Christophe had entrenched himself, to the right. On the same day, General Desfourneaux came and posted himself before Ennery, where General Hardy also assembled his division.

" On the 4th, Desfourneaux's division marched to Coupe-à-Pintade, where they fell in with the enemy. I had ordered that division to be supported by Desplanque's and Hardy's Brigade. General Desfourneaux attacked the enemy, and drove them to Gonaïves, which had been burnt two days before. The enemy being vigorously pursued could no longer make head, but retreated towards the river Ester, leaving 200 men killed upon the field of battle.

" Salm's Brigade, belonging to Hardy's division, came the same day and took its position at the Piteau, in face of La Coupe-à-Pintade.

" On the same day the division of Rochambeau etered the Ravine-à-Couleuvre. It was there that General Toussaint, with his guards, forming a body of 1500 grenadiers, drawn from different demi-brigades, and about 1200 men, chosen from the best battalions of his army, togeher with 400 dragoons, expected to be able to defend himself. The Ravine at Couleuvre is enclosed on all sides in an extraordinary manner. It is flanked by mountains, the tops of which are covered with woods, in which were placed more than 2000 armed cultivators in addition to the troops already enumerated. The rebels had collected a quantity of materials for the purpose of obstructing the passage, and were possessed of the entrenched positions which commanded the Ravine. A position so uncommonly strong as this would have deterred almost any other man than Gene-

Rochambeau; he however, made his disposi-ons with the rapidity of lightning, and attacked the ntrenchments of the enemy.

"A combat of man to man commenced; the oops of Toussaint fought with great courage and stinacy, but every thing yielded to French intre-dity. Toussaint evacuated his position, and retired disorder to Petite-Rivière, leaving eight hundred of is troops dead on the field of battle. On the 5th arrived at Gonaïves. I was extremely anxious about he fate of Generals Debelle and Boudet, of whom I ad received no intelligence.

"On the 6th I discovered by means of my spies the General Debelle had not succeeded in repulsing General Maurepas. I gave orders to the division under General Desfourneaux to march to Gros Morne on the road to Port de Paix, and to General Rochambeau o advance to the bridge of Ester, and to push for-ward on the right and left, for the purpose of gaining intelligence of General Boudet, and the retreat of the enemy.

"On the 7th I gained intelligence that General Boudet had made himself master of St. Mark. I saw n this quarter no other enemy but Maurepas to en-counter; I gave orders to General Hardy to march to Gros Morne with five companies of grenadiers and 300 men drawn from his division. I added to this body a company of my guards, consisting of 100 men. I marched in person with this body, and on the evening of the 7th took up a position within two leagues of Gros Morne. My intention was to march with the division of Desfourneaux, and 1500 men of Hardy's division, for the purpose of taking up a posi-tion on the 8th two leagues further in the rear of General Maurepas, with a view of attacking him at break of day on the 9th in concert with General Debelle, whom I had apprized of this movement. But General Maurepas, who had no means of re-treat left, had previously sent deputies to General Debelle, whom my letters had not then reached, offering to surrender on the terms specified in my proclamation, in which I offer to continue those officers, who should submit, in their respective ranks. To this proposal General Debelle assented, and not-withstanding the excellence of my position I thought it my duty to confirm what General Debelle had done, and gave orders to General Maurepas to join the army at Gros Morne, where I was waiting his ar-rival. I have sent back the body drawn from the division of Hardy to Gonaïves, to which place I shall march for the purpose of recommencing to-morrow the pursuit of Toussaint.

"Since the affair of the 4th the inhabitants consi-der Toussaint as lost; the cultivators return to their habitations, the soldiers desert his standards, and already it is the opinion of all, that we are masters of the colony.

"General Desfourneaux bestows particular praise on Grandet, Chief of Brigade; General Hardy gives great credit to the exertions of Desplanques, Adjutant Commandant, whom I have appointed General of Brigade; General Salm is also highly spoken of. I have appointed Gongeat a Chief of Battalion, for-merly a Chief of Brigade in the 11th Light, on the field of battle. This brave officer is since dead of the wounds which procured for him this accession of rank.

"General Rochambeau speaks in high terms of the services of Brunet, General of Brigade; of Laval-lette and Andrieu, Adjutant Commandants; and of Citizen Rey, Chief of Brigade in the 5th Light. Citi-zen Lachatre, one of this General's Aid-de-Camps, was killed in storming Fort Dauphin. I have every reason to be satisfied with the exertions of Bruyere, my Aid-de-Camp Chef d'Escadre, and of Billcourt, holding the same rank, who is attached to the Gene-ral Staff.

"The exertions of the whole army deserve my particular acknowledgements; the 5th, 11th, and 17th Light, and the 31st and 68th of the line, have particularly distinguished themselves, General Boudet is liberal in his commendation of Pamphile Lacroix and Darbois, Adjutant Commandants. As soon as the returns from the different corps shall reach the Chief of the Staff, a detailed account on this point will be transmitted to you. He will send you a list of those brave individuals to whom I have judged it proper to assign rewards. I have to beg of you to require a confirmation of them from the Chief Con-sul.

"Thus has the Army of St. Domingo, in the space of a campaign of fifteen days, dispersed the principal bodies of the Rebels, got possession of a great part of their baggage, and a considerable por-tion of their artillery.

"Among the number of Officers who have sub-mitted are Clervaux, La Plume, and Maurepas; a number of other Negro Chiefs or Men of Colour, have also submitted to our arms. The whole plan-tations on the South are preserved. The whole of the Spanish part of the island is in our hands.

"Health and respect,

(Signed) "LECLERC."

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Paris, April 15. The law relative to religious worship decreed by the legislative body on the 8th, will be promulgated next Sunday at day-break.—That day will be kept as a holiday at all the public offices.—The sittings of the council of state are fixed for the future on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday in every week.

Sunday Evening, April 18. Early this morning the cannon were fired, and the new religious code proclaimed. The different councils and constituted authorities assem-bled to proceed to the grand service at the Metropolian Church of Notre Dame, and the proclamation, (See Register, p. 460) was posted up all over Paris. The approach of the Chief Consul was announced by the firing of cannon. Before he entered, the councils were seated in the galleries, the legislative body on the left, the conser-vative senate on the right, and the tribu-nate in the centre. In the body of the church, the clergy were ranged on the left; the ministers, ambassadors, chief officers, &c. &c. on the right. The aisles of the church were thickly lined with soldiers, and the number of military officers was great. Terminating the passage of the main aisle stood the altar, nearly in the centre of the church. On the right was erected a temple,

raised on four pillars, ten or twelve feet high, over which was suspended from the roof a splendid canopy. This temple, which was covered with crimson velvet, and most superbly decorated with gold and precious stones, was designed for the three consuls, and it was open all round that they might be seen. On the opposite side of the altar stood a similar temple, not so magnificent, in which were to sit the Pope's legate and two archbishops, one of them of Paris.—Soon after twelve o'clock the Chief Consul entered, canon firing, and a fine band of music playing in the church. The grenadiers were ranged three deep on each side of the aisle, along which he passed to the altar, the Pope's legate introducing him to the church, and conducting him. He was followed by the two other consuls, who seemed to attend him as footmen. After certain ceremonies he ascended the temple, and the cardinal and bishops entered theirs. The service of high mass was then performed, Buonaparté going through all the ceremonies, not apparently with the greatest zeal. In those parts of the service where the congregation bow, the soldiers presented their arms, by word of command from their officers. The oath of fidelity was taken by the clergy, who were very numerously assembled round the legate's temple, as already described, after which a sermon was preached by M. de Boisgelin now bishop of Tours, formerly archbishop of Aix, member of the royal academy, and the same person who preached before Louis the XVI. on his coronation. A grand *Te Deum* followed, in which all the best vocal performers in Paris assisted About four o'clock, the whole ceremony having concluded, the Chief Consul retired in the manner he entered, and the rest of the company withdrew.

Telegraphic dispatch.—Admiral Gantheaume to the Minister of the Marine and of the Colonies.

"*Brest, April* 13. The squadron under my orders is arrived from St. Domingo, without accident, after a passage of thirty-six days.—There is no other news than what has been brought by the Cisalpine."

The French commanders in St. Domingo, about the 24th of February, sent a frigate to the Havannah, to demand from the Spaniards an auxiliary force of 11,000 men, with a supply of provisions, &c. in aid of their operations against Toussaint. Two Spanish seventy-fours, a frigate and a sloop of war, with a French sixty-four, had arrived at the Havannah, and several other French ships were expected there to refit, and to take on board the supplies required by the troops, &c. in St. Domingo.

On the arrival of the French expedition at that Island, there were in the different ports about sixty sail of American vessels freighted with flour. The commanders of the French troops proposed to purchase their cargoes, by payment of one-fifth in specie, and to give bills on the republican government for the remainder, this was not accepted, when the French put them in requisition.

April 16. The Cardinal Legate has declared, by virtue of his apostolic power, that the following days shall be kept as festivals and holidays—Christmas-day, the Ascension, the Assumption, and the Feast of All Saints.—M. Cambaceres, Archbishop of Rouen, yesterday performed the ceremony of washing feet in the church of St. Roch.

Naples, March 27.—The news from Sicily is of great importance. The King has opened the States of Palermo with the greatest pomp. After congratulating the Sicilians on having looked on in tranquillity, at the waves of the political ocean, which have raged round their coast during ten years, he announced to them that for the future, the Court should reside at Sicily, and that this should be the pledge of the prosperity of that realm. He had also engaged the Sicilians to supply the wants of the State.

Lisbon, April 1. General Lannes arrived here on the 26th of last month. A carriage of the court, drawn by eight horses superbly decorated, remained on the quay of the Place of Commerce, waiting for him, from mid-day till ten o'clock at night. Greater honours were paid him than are generally rendered to the diplomatic rank which he holds, he being only envoy and minister plenipotentiary. His wife, a second aid-du-camp, and the secretary Fitte, were with him. He had likewise carriages of the court for them.

He ordered the former French chargé-des-affaires to announce to the factory, that he would receive them on Sunday the 28th, at eleven in the morning; but that he would only receive those who should wear the national cockade, and these only should have a claim to the protection of the representation of the nation. The duc de Luxembourg, who is razed from the list of emigrants, and whose daughter is married to the duc de Cadaval, conformed to this order. On the same day he dined with

neral Lannes, the envoy from Holland ng of the party. The prince of Luxem- rg, his son, in the service of Portugal, who has been in France these two nths, is about to marry the niece and ess of the minister Talleyrand Peri- d.—On the 30th ult. the envoy and nister plenipotentiary of the French re- blic, presented his letters of credence to prince regent. On this occasion the ace of Caylus was new furnished, and order was given for all the *fidalgos* to end at the presentation. Never were ch pains taken to receive, in the most rked and magnificent manner, any reign ambassador.—It was at this mo- nt of ceremony and parade, that by a *tality* which can neither be conceived r explained, that the Portuguese gave the English a mortification which mands reparation.—On the 27th of arch, the English frigate the Active rived in three days from Gibraltar, From e tower of Bolem, a signal was made to r to stop her course, conformable to an donnance of health, which enjoins all ips coming from the Mediteranean to rform quarantine. The commandant of e frigate took the anchorage which ap- eared to him the best and safest. The ilors of the barges of the Active, and of e Constance, captain Mudge, attending eir respective captains to a place called e packet-boat stairs, were seized by the uard of the police, without any cause eing assigned, and carried to one of the ubterraneans of that guard. The com- mandants of the two frigates, upon their eturn not finding their men, went to emand them, when an officer ordered his men to conduct them both to the main guard, commanded by a captain of the re- giment of Lisbon, who immediately upon their arrival ordered them to be shut up in one of his apartments, exposed to the insults of the soldiers.—As soon as His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, Mr. Frere, and General Fraser, were informed of this transaction, they flew to the main guard, and assured themselves by their eyes of what they could not otherwise have be- lieved.—They immediately went to the proper authority to demand their release, but notwithstanding all their zeal and dili- gence, the two officers remained in an un- wholesome place from eleven at night till next day after mid-day.—The Portuguese government is disposed to give ample satis- faction, but that it equally demands it of the captain of the Active.—General Lannes has brought as a present for the Prince Regent, a superb set of harness, and an elegant robe for the princess.

Hague, April 4.—Admiral de Winter has received instruction to sail to Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli. These powers have ex- pressed some discontent, and have even declared war against our Republic, because the usual presents, amounting to 130,000 florins a year, were not sent. Admiral de Winter will pay the sum which is due, and renew the former relations between the two states.

The government has authorised the coun- cil of war, and the council of the colo- nies to establish dépôts for the colonial troops that go to India. These dépôts shall be established at Amsterdam, and in some other ports of the republic.—The trade to the Cape of Good Hope shall not, as for- merly, belong to an exclusive company; every individual of the republic shall be free to traffic there, on paying a certain duty. The inhabitants of the countries which have by their ministers, concluded a de- finitive treaty of peace, shall enjoy the same privileges as the traders of this republic.

The commerce at Amsterdam recovers all its former activity; 23 vessels are at this moment in that port, waiting a favourable wind to sail to the coast of Guinea. The same activity reigns at Dordrecht and Rot- terdam, where there are also several vessels loaded for the colonies.—It is asserted that we are to have an exclusive company for the trade to China; we hope soon to see the trade to the East Indies made free, as well as that to the Cape.—The East India com- pany is become so burthensome, that its debts, with which the State is charged, amount to 5,153,813 livres.

Antwerp, April 4.—Hedouville, prefect of the ci-devant Netherlands, to citizen Werbroeck, mayor of Antwerp.

" I have heard, citizen mayor, that some of your citizens have been so far misled by letters from their correspondents at Amiens, as to believe that the Scheldt is not to be free. The uneasiness occasioned by this report is so great, that I can no longer think it consistent with my duty not to do it away. Letters from correspondents on offi- cial subjects, should never be depended upon, without direct communications from the government. Let it therefore be made publicly known, that the Scheldt is free, and completely free, in order that all the merchants may avail themselves of the ad-

vantages to be derived from the intelligence; and let us all unite to return our acknowledgements to the First Consul, who has restored peace to Europe, happiness to France, and prosperity to Europe! Have the goodness to communicate this letter to the merchants.

(Signed) "*Hedouville.*"

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

Presentations at the Levee on Wednesday.

The Rev. Dr. Huntingford, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; he had the honour to kiss the King's hand on succeeding to the see of Gloucester.—Counseller Erskine, Chancellor of the Dutchy of Cornwall, given him by the Prince of Wales, was introduced by Earl Moira.—Mr. Perceval, on his appointment as his Majesty's Attorney-General.—The Bishop of Gloucester kissed hands on his being translated to the see of Bath and Wells.—Lord Ellenborough kissed hands on being appointed Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench.—His Excellency the Sardinian Ambassador, had a private audience of the King, to announce the death of the Queen of Sardinia, on which occasion, the Court will go into mourning on Sunday next.—After the Levee, a Council of his Majesty's ministers was held, on the Ratification of the Treaty of Peace received on Wednesday, between Great-Britain and France.

On Monday last, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, with several of the nobility and gentry, dined at the Mansion-House.

The Lord Mayor not having treated the Sheriffs with that respect, which those in their office had been accustomed to receive, they did not appear amongst the guests at the Mansion-House.

The following is a Copy of the Letter sent by the Sheriffs to the Prince of Wales respecting their Conduct on Monday last.

May it please your Royal Highness,

Deeply as it would grieve us to appear wanting in that respect and affection so justly due to your Royal Highness's person, and your Illustrious Family, a respect and affection we most fervently feel in common with every good subject, we consider it a duty we owe ourselves, as Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, to account to your Royal Highness for not appearing in our places on your Royal Highness's condescending to honour the city with your august presence at the festivities of Easter Monday.

When our fellow-citizens called us to the high office we have now the honour to serve, we thought it our first duty and our greatest pride to maintain its consequence with splendour while we held it, and to return it into their hands again, its dignity unsullied, and its rights unbroken.

It cannot be necessary to obtrude on your Royal Highness's attention the minute circumstances wherein we imagined that the Lord Mayor intended to sully that dignity, and to abridge those rights, but only to observe that we conceived him to have abated of that proper respect due to the established church of England and Ireland, in the person of our Chaplains, who, in their official capacity, represented it, and, in our own persons to have neglected those honours, which custom had authorised us to expect, which our high office entitled us to demand, and which, as representing our Sovereign, it was his duty to pay us.

We, Royal Sir, with the whole civilised world, have seen and deplored the fatal effects of those principles, which, in another nation, in destroying respect, ceremony, and veneration for place, office, and rank, had nearly destroyed with them all that was great and good, and threatened to deprive society of its noblest blessings.

Under this impression your Royal Highness will not be surprised that we resented what we considered indignity to our station; that we refused to be mere puppets in what he presumed to be his private pageant; that we consented to sacrifice the unbounded pleasure we ought to have enjoyed in humbly receiving and dutifully waiting upon your Royal Person, to the feelings of public propriety.

We trust, therefore, that your Royal Highness will not only exercise your usual goodness to pardon our seeming neglect, but will extend it to an approbation of our conduct, that, in having accepted our high office from the hands of our fellow-citizens, and holding it under the influence of our Gracious Sovereign, we feel jealous of its honour, and defenders of its rights.

We beg leave to subscribe ourselves, with the greatest deference and veneration, your Royal Highness's most dutiful, most loyal, and most humble servants,

(Signed) *Wm. Rawlins,* } *Sheriffs.*
Robt. Alb. Cox, }

Easter Tuesday,
April 20, 1802.

A List of the Directors of the United mpany of Merchants of England, trad- to the East-Indies, for the year 1802:

Francis Baring, Bt.	Sir Stephen Lushington, Bt.
William Bensley, Bt.	John Manship, Esq.
ob Bosanquet, Esq.	T. Theophilus Metcalfe, Es.
J. Smith Burges, Esq.	Edward Parry, Esq.
eph Cotton, Esq.	John Roberts, Esq.
Lionel Darrell, Bart.	George Smith, Esq.
lliam Devaynes, Esq.	G. Woodford Thellusson, Es.
on. W. Elphinstone,	Robert Thornton, Esq.
harles Grant, Esq.	William Thornton, Esq.
on Hunter, Esq.	Sweny Toone, Esq.
Hugh Inglis, Bart.	John Travers, Esq.
ul Le Mesurier, Esq.	Stephen Williams, Esq.

and Alderman.

All the French prisoners of war at the épôt of Portsmouth, were embarked on oard sundry cartel vessels, on Monday, uesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, the 2th, 13th, 14th, and 15th inst.—The num- er between three and four thousand.

The total amount of the actual payment nt of, and future charge upon, the Conso- dated Fund, for the year ended January 5, 802, is £24,385,224: 10.—The National Debt, on the 1st of February last, amount- d to £477,989,894: 6: 5½.

At a meeting of the Proprietors of Bank tock, in Dublin, it was agreed to purchase he Parliament-house for a National Bank; hey are to pay £40,000 and £240 per nnum.

Vice-Admiral Sir Andrew Mitchell is ppointed to the chief naval command on the Nova Scotia station: his force will consist f a 50 gun ship and a squadron of fri- gates.

The Hon. Mr. Pierrepoint arrived in Town at two o'clock on Wednesday morn- ng, with the Ratification by the French Government, of the Definitive Treaty.

On Saturday last, dispatches were received t the India-House from the Government- General of Bengal, by the Arran, a country hip, loaded with grain; she left the pre- idency in October. We learn by a private letter, that the Governor-General was on his way to Lucknow, for the purpose of having an interview with the Vizier, or Nabob of Oude. His Lordship had taken his departure from Monghir, and penetrat- ed more than 300 miles in the interior, north-west of Calcutta.

TAX UPON TONNAGE.

A general meeting of the ship-owners of the city of London was held yesterday at the George and Vulture Tavern, Cornhill, to take into consideration the intended duties upon the tonnage of shipping.

Mr. Rowcroft being called to the chair, briefly stated the object of the meeting, the general sense of which appearing to be against the duties;

A resolution was proposed to the follow- ing effect:

"Resolved, that a committee be appoint- ed to take such measures as may induce the minister to withdraw, lessen, or modify, the intended tax upon the tonnage of ship- ping."

The mover of this resolution stated, in its support, that the government of France had imposed a duty upon tonnage to the amount of nearly three livres, and that, therefore, the ship-owners might consent to a similar tax, if laid low, in case the mi- nister could not be prevailed upon to aban- don it entirely.

Mr. Hill reprobated all idea of modifi- cation. His objection was to the principle of the tax, and therefore he should oppose it in any shape or state of reduction. It was always the policy of this country to en- courage its shipping, and hence the unri- valled greatness and glory which it had at- tained.—All measures against this policy had therefore been hitherto resisted, and such resistance was uniformly crowned with success. The opposition in the present in- stance, he trusted, would experience a similar fate. It was a fallacy to suppose that the ship-owner could reimburse him- self any part of the tax, by raising the price of carriage upon the article.—From the great extent of our shipping, there was at present a competition for freight, which rendered any such mode of indemnification impossible.—Such an effect could not take place, until by a reduction of the quantity of shipping the owners might be able to raise the freight. The tax therefore would ultimately tend to reduce that establishment which had proved the source of our prospe- rity, particularly as it would give foreign shipping an advantage over that of Great- Britain. For these reasons, therefore, he should oppose the principle of the tax, and move that the words "lessen or modify" be omitted. This amendment was unanimously agreed to.

A gentleman then proposed, after a short speech, enforcing the arguments of Mr. Hill, that the meeting should come to some strong resolution in terms that should ex- press their decided and marked disappro- bation of the measure, but still guarded from any words that could give offence, or be construed into a disrespect to the minister.

The chairman being now called away by public business, he was succeeded in the chair by Mr. Hill, and, after a good deal of conversation, the following resolution, in conformity with the above suggestion, was unanimously adopted. "Resolved, &c. that the intended tax upon the tonnage of shipping is impolitic, and, if carried into effect, will be injurious to the interests of Great-Britain, by ultimately depriving the country of its principal support."

It was then suggested, that the representatives of the city be instructed to endeavour to procure the delay of the progress of the bill imposing the tax, now before parliament, in order that there might be time to communicate with the ship-owners in the out-ports, and to have the benefit of their co-operation. To this it was answered, that a private request from the committee for delay was as likely to be successful as any other mode, and that the ship-owners in several of the out ports, viz. Newcastle, Durham, &c. had already taken the subject into consideration, and apprised their representatives of their disapprobation of the tax.

It was then unanimously "resolved, that said resolutions be transmitted to the ship-owners of the out-ports for their co-operation with the ship-owners of London, in their endeavours to prevent said tax from being carried into effect."

A committee was then appointed, consisting of Mr. Rowcroft, Mr. Hill, and several other gentlemen, and the meeting was dissolved.

By accounts laid before the House of Commons, it appears the average number of barrels of strong beer, brewed for the last fifteen years, has been nearly five millions barrels per annum.

Two state prisoners in Dublin, and eleven out of thirteen of those in Kilmainham, were lately liberated, agreeable to an agreement which they were induced to enter into, four years since, of being then liberated on giving security to quit his Majesty's European dominions, and not to enter any country at war with Great-Britain; but as several of these are men of large families, and incapable of procuring the means of removing to any other country, it is thought the clemency of government will be extended to persons of this description. The state prisoners confined in Fort George are, it is said, to be brought to Ireland without delay, and liberated on the same terms.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The formal acknowledgment of the truth of the Christian faith, by the Chief Ruler and by the people of France, which took place at Paris on Sunday last, is an event, which cannot be looked upon but as wonderful in itself, and important in its consequences. What those consequences may finally be, it is impossible even to guess at, until time has shewn us the effect which this national recantation will produce in the minds of the people. That the system, mutilated as it is, which is now introduced, will not tend to the restoration of religion, it would, perhaps, be going too far to assert; yet, we think, there is very good reason to believe, that it will answer no other end than that of tearing up the very foundations of the Roman-Catholic church; and, we Protestants should recollect, that the people of France will be either Catholics or Infidels. —As to the political consequences, there are two opinions, one of which is, that the partial re-establishment of the influence and authority of the Pope and the priests will, though by slow degrees, sap the power of the Consul, and finally overthrow the Republic; the other is, that it will strengthen the former, and tend to perpetuate the latter. To this opinion we subscribe. The ecclesiastical power is entirely dependent on the military power: the consecration of Buonaparté's *sword* was most aptly emblematical of the future state of things: the only purpose which the church is intended to answer, is to preserve domestic tranquillity, to further the operations and to sanctify the deeds of the army.

The dispatches from St. Domingo are regarded by the French as containing full proof of their success in that island. The war may possibly drag out till the month of June; but we fear it will not. We have heard much of woods and mountains, and a long-protracted Maroon war, but have never yet found any one to tell us how Toussaint and his army are to live without provisions, which they can have only from the sea. When we are reminded of the *ten thousand men and twenty millions of money*, which *we* lost in a fruitless attempt to subdue Toussaint and other black chiefs, our constant reply is, that *we* are not Frenchmen. If Buonaparté had committed the expedition to the humane Generals Maitland and Williamson, we should have regarded the sailing of the armament as a master-stroke of policy on the part of our Ministers. But the Le Clercs and the Rochambeaus are

n of a different mould. Instead of throw- up a ditch to let their men die in quiet, harras them to death in pursuit of the groes. These bloody-minded men go to to kill their enemies, and not, like our tle St. Domingo commanders, to save ir enemies lives and their own into the gain. When we are asked how the ne- es found provisions and ammunition to ty on the war against *us* for so long a e, we readily answer, that they found em in the sea-ports, of which we kindly t them in possession, and into which, th all our swarm of ships, we never pre- nted the entrance of supplies. In short, hen we reflect on the millions that we pended in the expedition against that and, on the ample forces by land and a, on the time spent, and the final re- lt, we see with shame the progress that e Clerc, destitute of provisions, and with empty military chest, has made in the ace of twenty days. We love not the ench; nay, we trust, that few people on rth hate them more cordially than we; t we cannot help admiring the wisdom of ir plans, and the promptitude and reso- tion with which they carry them into ef- ct. We admire their devotion to their untry, their regard for her glory, and their sregard of death when put in competition ith that glory: and, however the maxim ay disagree with the peace-seeking cant the day, we have no scruple to assert, at such men will rule, and have a *right* to le, the selfish, the effeminate, and cow- rdly part of mankind.

The omission, in the Definitive Treaty, renew former treaties, has, we are happy perceive, created a general alarm, which ews that there is yet some regard for the terests, if there be none for the honour, of e country. All the consequences of this mission will not be readily perceived. hey are like biles in the embryo, and will ake us smart and wince in their successive uption. In our next we shall endeavour point out their nature and extent, a duty hich we should already have discharged, our limits would have permitted. "Suf- cient," however, "to the day is the evil ereof:" those who may take the pains to eruse our remarks on the cessions in Gui- na and North America, will, we imagine, ant nothing more to rouse their indigna- on against the negotiators of the ruinous ompact, which is now to be celebrated by *mpulsory* illuminations. On this latter topic e shall have much to say. The arts which ave been made use of at once to wheedle and to bully the nation into this affectation of joy, this shameful act of self-debasement, deserves the most severe and most lasting reprobation.

The article from Lisbon, which will be found under the head of Foreign Intelligence, furnishes us with an early specimen of the effects of a disgraceful peace: it teaches us what it is to be considered as an *inferior* power Time was when the captains of British men of war would not, in the city of Lisbon, have been crammed into a guard-house, merely for an act of informality in the observance of the health-laws; time was when such an exhibition would not have graced the entry of an envoy of France; time was when the British uniform was a protection from insult; but that time is no more: we have basely abandoned those who had dared danger and destruction by our side, and the nations of the world will soon make us feel, that nothing is so contemptible as pride without honour. Let those, therefore, who mean to visit foreign climes, go to Downing Street before their departure, and take a lesson of humility: if they wish to avoid the cuffs and the kicks of mankind, let them cast off the bull-dog, and put on the airs of the spaniel.

Yet, there will not be wanting persons to charge the Portuguese with *ingratitude* for their having rigorously exercised the law in the instance above alluded to. Such a charge is fashionable. To represent ourselves as having *fought the battles of other countries* is the popular cant of the day. We were "paying the Emperor to fight his "*own* battles." We pay him no longer; the consequence of which is, we prostrate ourselves at the feet of our enemy, give up the conquests we have made, and submit to such disgrace as the Emperor has never submitted to. But, we never paid Portugal; we never purchased her co-operation with our insolent guineas. She bore her portion of the expense, more than her portion of the danger, without the smallest participation in the profits. We make a peace by which we secure two islands to ourselves in exchange for a part of her colonial and her European dominions. And can we, after this, have the effrontery to complain of her *ingratitude*, because she withdraws the respect and deference with which we were formerly treated? She owes us nought, no not even good will, and he must be an idiot who expects it at her hands. To be hated is the lot of the rich and the powerful; but our present

statesmen have been able to unite against us feelings hitherto thought incompatible; to render us an object of universal hatred and contempt.

The French ratification of the definitive treaty has (as will be seen by our Domestic Occurrences) been received. The Dutch and Spanish ratifications are hourly expected. Peace is, it seems, to be *proclaimed by the heralds*, as if a printed proclamation were an insufficient assurance of our disgrace. Every possible effort is made to dazzle and blind the people, who are hurried on from folly to folly with a velocity that leaves them not a moment for reflection. The present infatuation, however, shall not discourage us: the day of reflection will finally come: the day must come, when the nation will join their voices to ours in execrating the measure, on which they are now preparing to bestow public demonstrations of joy. "A weak foundation, "slippery and unsure, hath he who buildeth "on the vulgar heart." To court the approbation of the multitude, in any way whatever, is very little honourable to a statesman; what must it be, then, to exclude all their better feelings, and speak to their baseness alone? Yet, such is the nature of the present appeal. It is from their bellies, and not from their heads or their hearts; it is from their love of eating and drinking, and not from their patriotism or their loyalty, that the peace-makers look for applause.

☞ *Complete sets of this Work, sent by post, free of all expense, may be had of any of the Newsmen, or of Messrs. Cobbett and Morgan, in Pall Mall.*

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

The King has been pleased to grant the Dignity of a Baron of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland unto Sir Edward Law, Knight, Chief Justice of his Majesty's Court of King's Bench, and to the Heirs Male of his Body lawfully begotten, by the Name, Style, and Title of Baron Ellenborough, of Ellenborough, in the county of Cumberland.

BIRTH AND DEATHS.

Birth.—On Sunday evening, at his Lordship's house in Hill-street, Lady Morpeth, of a son and heir.

Deaths.—On Thursday, 22d inst. at Bath, Colonel Adeane, of the forty-fifth Regiment, Member for Cambridgeshire, and one of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Bedchamber. Thursday morning, at her house in Hertford-street, May-fair, the Hon. Mrs. Bateman, aged 73. On Wednesday last, at her house in Farnham, at an advanced age, Mrs. Montagu, relict of the late Admiral Montagu. The 18th inst. at his house in Hanover-square, The Right Hon. Henry Temple, Lord Viscount Palmerston, of the Kingdom of Ireland. On Tuesday evening in Piccadilly, after a lingering illness, the Earl of Guildford. He is succeeded by his brother, the Hon. Colonel North.

PRICE OF STOCKS.

ENGLISH three per cent. consols.

Saturday....	76⅞ 7⅞ ½	Wednesday..	77⅛ ⅛ ¼
Monday	Shut.	Thursday..	77⅛ 6⅞ ⅛ 7
Tuesday	Shut.	Friday....	76⅞ ¼ ⅜

AMERICAN STOCKS.—Eight pr. c. 113¼.

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f. 55 c.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	s.		l.	s.
Eng. Wheat per q.	58	to 72	Hops per cwt...	83	to 161
Foreign.....	48	.. 70	Hay per load	37	.. 91
Rye.....	36	.. 39	Beef, per stone....	5s. to 5s. 9d.	
Barley.....	30	.. 34			
Malt.....	36	.. 47	Mutton..	6s. 6d. to 7s. 9d.	
Oats.....	12	.. 19	Veal	6s. to 7s.	
Pease.....	28	.. 33	Pork....	6s. to 7s. 0d. 0d.	
Beans.....	30	.. 38	Tallow	4s. 0d.	
Flour per sack ..	50	.. 53	Average of Sugar		
Seconds.....	45	.. 50	per cwt.....	38s. 9d.	
Coals per chal....	29	.. 39			

Bread *Ten Pence* the Quartern Loaf.

Porter Four Pence Halfpenny per Pot.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

HAMBURGH	33 0 2½ us.	NAPLES.....	41½
ALTONA ..	33 1 2½ us.	GENOA	47½
CADIZ	33¾ in paper	LISBON.....	71¼
MADRID ..	33¾ ditto	OPORTO.....	71
LEGHORN..	50¼	DUBLIN.....	12

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER,

Near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of April, 1802.

Days.	M's Age	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Thermometer. Degrees. M.	Thermometer. Degrees. A.
15		Fair.	NW	W	29,92	29,9	52	57
16		Fine.	NW	NW	29,83	29,83	53	59
17		Fine.	W	W	30,01	30,02	54	59,5
18	○	Fine.	W	W	30,1	30,1	58	63
19		Fine.	S	SW	30,12	30,12	62	65,5
20		Fine.	W	W	30,05	30,05	61,5	68
21		Fine.	NE	W	30	30	54	64

● *New Moon* ☾ *1st. Quar.* ○ *F. Moon.* ☽ *Last Quar.*

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